# SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES

*ON THE THRESHOLD OF EIGHTY*

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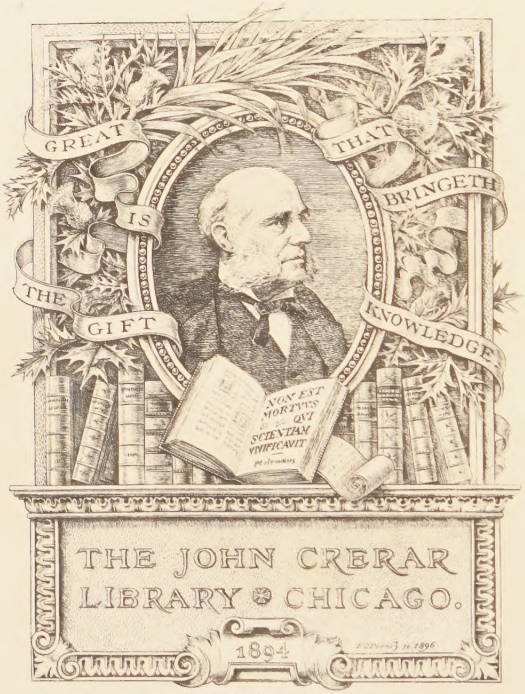
CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW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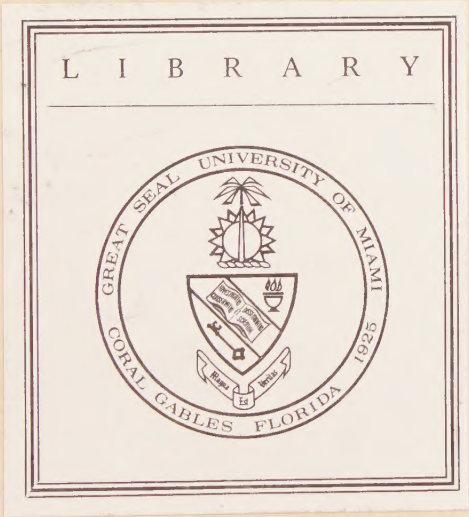

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# ON THE THRESHOLD
# OF EIGHTY

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Chauncey M. Depew.

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# SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES

## ON THE THRESHOLD OF EIGHTY

BY

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

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(Mr. Depew's birthday is April 23, but club conditions have made change of dates necessary.)

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

It is very interesting that the twentieth successive dinner which you have given me on my birthday should coincide with this club coming of age. Twenty-one years of club life to those who have been members from the beginning is always full of charm. The club is the nearest association to the family possible without domestic ties. A man who has a sympathetic disposition and loves to mingle with his fellowmen upon a basis more intimate than is afforded in business will have among the living, and, in memory, those who have passed away, an invaluable asset of choicest friendships. In no place as in the club does human nature reveal itself at its best and at its worst. Members become natural with each other and their selfishness or their good fellowship increases with the years.

I recall those who were present at that first birthday celebration, and each one of them since has had distinctive features. It has differed from all other affairs of the kind because of its publicity and its freedom of discussion. The influence of words uttered here or revelations made here have at times reached far beyond the limits of this city. But these celebrations have also had every char-

acteristic of the family birthday when the recipient is made happy because all present rejoice in the anniversary, hope for its indefinite recurrence and each of them can feel and sing "He is a jolly good fellow, which nobody will deny."

One of the most interesting of these anniversaries was given me the year I entered the Senate, and now we are here the year that I retire. Twelve years in that great deliberative body is wonderfully educational as well as enjoyable. It has often been called a club and said to be the best in the United States. In a sense, it is. Within its walls, except in debate upon political questions, there are no divisions of parties. Republicans and Democrats, Stand-patters and Progressives, mingle on the floor, in committee rooms, in the cloak room and the dining room, with a daily familiarity which speedily removes the rough edges from the most acidulous, irritable and irritating of Senators. In the course of years, with hardly an exception, they all become cordial friends, with the heartiest good wishes for long continuance in the Senate. There is a great difference in the jubilant expectations with which one enters upon a new field of work and the calm and reminiscent mood with which he returns to private life. The principal difference which I find now is that while I was in I was in receipt on the average of one hundred and fifty letters a day, one hundred of them wanting things, most of which it was impossible for me to procure, and the other fifty abusing me because I failed to land the writer in a diplomatic or a consular position, in a high place in the departments, or upon the permanent pension roll either as a beginner or with an increase. As an out, my mail dwindles to twenty letters a day, most of them giving advice. Some say,

"You are seventy-seven years of age, remarkably well preserved, and yet you cannot hope to reach one hundred unless you quit dining and eating." Others say, "Chew until the last morsel has disappeared before you swallow." Others say, "You must stop drinking." Others prescribe the limits of exercise and the kinds of health foods. Others tell me that the judgment of a man past seventy is never good as to investments, that radical legislation is to impair the income of railway securities, and bad management of industries, but that he has a mine to develop or a fertilizer to put upon the market and with a little money the returns will mean luxury for life.

I was elected a Member of the Legislature in 1861. 1911 rounds out fifty years in intimate contact with public life or in the public service. The thought which most impresses itself upon me is that the functions of government, the rights of the citizen, the influence of laws upon the people have entirely changed during that period; I think, emphatically for the better. The iconoclast has been abroad and shattered the most cherished images of the Fathers. If one of the framers of the Constitution could be reincarnated and visit us today, he would find the same great instrument almost unchanged, still the fundamental law of the land, but he would discover that legislation forced by the growth of the country, the rapid development of its resources, the influences of steam and electricity, had compelled the enactment of restrictive laws which he would regard as tyrannical restrictions upon individual liberty, and that those laws had been sustained as Constitutional by the interpretations of the Supreme Court. He would discover that these interpretations had so treated the general principles of

his Constitution as to make them applicable and serviceable for a progress so radical as to seem to him revolutionary. Jefferson pinned his faith on the individual. He emphatically declared, "That government is best which governs least." His idea was to give the freest rein to individual initiative, effort and achievement It was this which made him opposed to slavery and anxious for its abolition. The ideas of Jefferson controlled the legislation of the Republic down to the Civil War. The first break in the traditional sentiments and principles which had so long governed us was when the Supreme Court found warrant in the Constitution to raise armies to coerce sovereign States and compel them to remain within the Union; not only to raise armies, but to incur gigantic debts and expand the revenue in every possible direction to establish the fact that the Union of the States is indestructible and eternal.

After the Civil War and the elimination of slave labor, the United States entered upon a new industrial era. Railroads spanned the continent, and in doing so created farms, villages, cities, and new States. There were in 1861 about thirty-five thousand miles of railway in the United States, and in 1911 the mileage has increased to two hundred and thirty-six thousand, which is one-half the railway mileage of the world. The necessity of great aggregations of capital to construct these iron highways, to promote manufactures, to develop the resources of the country and its mines, its forests and its fields, rapidly created corporations. The old Jefferson ideas gave to capital, whether possessed by an individual or a partnership or a corporation, the freest rein. The people were eager for the development of the national wealth. Their im-

aginations were fired with the opportunities it gave to their children for success beyond the dreams of the present generation and for the permanent and healthful employment of everybody. After a while it was found that if the corporation was not regulated by law, and did not have upon it the restraining power of the government, and was not compelled to have its operations exposed to the light of publicity, that the public, the corporations and their investors were subject to great evils and perils. Then began legislation upon the collective instead of the individual principle. The railroads, with the absolute freedom which was thought necessary for their primitive expansion, engaged in ruinous competition with each other which impaired the efficiency of the service and the strength of the companies. Discriminations by rebates and other devices for favored cities, towns or individuals became common. Business dried up along the weaker lines under the original false idea that the proper way to secure justice from the railroad was to promote competition by law. Then rapidly came State and National commissions. Then came prohibitions against rebates, discriminations and favoritism, and then was developed what is nearly completed—that ideal of corporate management, the controlling power of the government to prevent abuses and also to protect the corporations in their rights, the expansion, extension, improvement and increasing efficiency of private ownership as against the waste and profligacy of ownership by the government. Now, here we have what might be called collective action reversing our time-honored rules and principles and yet working beneficially for protecting without restricting enterprise and progress. To accomplish these results larger powers have been

given to the Interstate Commerce Commission and a Court of Commerce created with adequate jurisdiction. Soon it was found necessary that the old idea which had governed us for eighty years should be reversed as to all corporations. The legislation along this line reached so many in every settlement of the country that it raised a wild cry of alarm. It was shouted that private business was to be destroyed and fatal restrictions placed upon national development. The selfishness which to save expense made factories unsanitary and unsafe was practised as much by individuals as by corporations. The employment of children and the destruction of child life in order to make more money was found to be as much the vice of individuals as of corporations. So the law stepped in and swept away the whole theory of individualism and proceeded drastically to protect by law, by inspection and by government supervision the lives and the health of the people in the factories and to protect the children. We have not gone quite far enough. That frightful holocaust of the factory fire in New York a few days since shows that these laws must be more drastic, supervision more perfect and punishment more severe.

These instances which I have cited, and they could be continued almost indefinitely, demonstrate the complete change in our government in these fifty years of my public life, but no sane men will question that the change has been most beneficial and absolutely necessary. We as a people go to extremes. Having advanced thus far, our danger is that the unthinking may go on from protection to restrictions so severe as to endanger progress and enterprise. Corporate development during this period is not confined to the United States, but

has been equally rapid in all countries. With the cable and cheap and rapid transportation over the seas the surplus savings of each country are at the service of all nations. The fluidity of capital makes Kings and Parliaments and Presidents and Congresses boards of directors of those huge competitive business organizations their several nations, upon whose success depends the living of their peoples and the extent to which prosperous conditions may ward off penury and starvation and promote prosperity. The great industrial nations, like Great Britain and Germany, encourage great combinations. They do it to increase the efficiency and cheapness of their productions, because their increasing populations and surplus threaten dangerous congestion and are a menace to the stability of their institutions and the peace and order of their communities. Their object is to capture for the sale of their surplus the markets of the world. They further help their own industries by encouraging and creating a mercantile marine which will sail upon every sea and reach every port by subsidies sufficiently large and liberal to accomplish this result. The United States has taken an opposite course. We have persistently refused encouragement to the upbuilding of a mercantile marine. When Secretary of State Root made his famous visit to the South American Republics, he found in the crowded shipping of their ports but one vessel flying the American flag and our battleship fleet in its cruise around the world saw the ensign of their country only on their own masts. The thousands of steamers in the ports of these countries were English, German, French, Belgian, Italian, Austrian, Swedish and Norwegian, some carrying American products, but all agents for the

manufacturers and business men of their own countries. The country became so alarmed at the rapidity with which industrial combinations were formed that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed twenty years ago. It fairly expressed the idea of that period which was that the common law which had proved ample for the restraint of bad combinations for three hundred years was not sufficient to meet these new conditions, but that all industrial combinations, good or bad, should be prohibited and as far as possible we should become as a people retailers rather than wholesalers in the exploitation, perfecting and marketing of our products. Capital seeking opportunities for investment, labor with unions strong enough to protect itself demanding opportunities for employment and increasing wages, and communities striving against each other for immigration and the rapid development of their local resources, were all carried along by the resistless power of the tendency of the times to get around or to overcome the effects of this law. Several States which have quickly grasped both the opportunity and the necessity have endeavored to overcome the restrictive and repressive influence of the law by the exercise of their sovereign power, while others have supplemented by more drastic acts the Sherman Law. The States which have taken the independent course have attracted immigration and capital and increased their population in the last decade as well as expanded their industries, while the commonwealths which have pursued the other course have decreased in population because their young men could find no employment, and, therefore, were compelled to migrate either to Canada for cheap farms or to the industrial States for their opportunities. But these progressive common-

wealths are finding their legislation up against the power of the government when their products go beyond their borders in interstate commerce. A large measure of the unrest, the lack of employment, the halting of business, and the depreciation of securities, are due to the uncertainties of this situation. The need of the hour is constructive statesmanship which will provide by national incorporations opportunity for the free play of capital, the largest possible employment of labor and the protection of the public under a supervision by a bureau of the general government, which, while preventing abuses, will permit progress. President Roosevelt made an admirable move in this direction by his Congress of Governors, the idea being that through them there might be uniform laws throughout the country. It is an almost insuperable barrier to our proper and wise development as a nation that what is lawful and encouraged in one commonwealth should be penalized in another, that the family, that sacred relation upon which everything else rests, should under diverse divorce laws be in danger of disruption and destruction because a couple may be husband and wife in one jurisdiction but the wife a mistress and the children illegitimate in another.

One of the causes of unrest which is so universal is the high cost of living. Due in a measure to this is the initiative, the referendum and the recall, and many other devices to destroy representative government. I met in my experience a concrete illustration which seemed to prove that the main trouble is not so much the high cost of living as the cost of high living. When I was a boy, sixty odd years ago, I knew a successful village storekeeper who opened the store himself at seven o'clock in the

morning and closed it at night. He had one assistant of all work, and he helped in building the fire, for there were no furnaces in those days, in filling and trimming the lamps, for there was no electric light or gas, and a single horse, which he groomed himself, hauled the delivery wagon and took his family out in the rockaway for a ride on Sunday afternoons. He was contented, happy and prosperous. I stopped in to see his son not long ago. He had furnace heat, electric lights, clerks who relieved him of much of the work of his father, an automobile at the door, a telephone on his desk and a typewriter on his lap, and complained of the high cost of living.

One of the most extraordinary of the changes in the period we are discussing is our attitude toward the negro. I speak of this because of close contact with the question during discussions in the Senate on the amendment to the Constitution to change the method of electing United States Senators from the Legislature to the people. I there found that the sentiment which so overwhelmingly placed in the Constitution the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments for the protection of the negro had decreased to an almost utter indifference to his civil and political rights. The theory under which we permit immigrants of every grade of intelligence to become citizens after a certain probation is that under our common school system, our free education and the influence of our institutions they will be worthy of that high privilege. The results have justified the theory. We do this also in the belief that it is dangerous to have in our midst a large and increasing body of aliens who neither enjoy nor can be permitted to enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Many States in

which there is a large negro population have by various devices deprived them of the suffrage. Of course this is in violation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. These States greatly fear that some time the question may reach the Supreme Court of the United States in such a way that the court may decide against this legislation. So when the resolution was offered during the last Congress to change the Constitution by simply saying that hereafter United States Senators should be elected by the people instead of by the Legislatures, these States which deny the negroes the right to vote made the demand that they would not support the proposition unless the provision of the Constitution which has been there for one hundred and twenty-five years giving the United States supervisory power over the elections should be repealed. A few days ago this question came up in the House of Representatives. The resolution amending the Constitution was reported from the committee with this repeal of governmental supervision, and in that form it passed the House by the affirmative vote of three-fourths of its members. The resolution as it passed the House not only changes the method of electing United States Senators, but leaves the qualifications of the electors who shall vote for them entirely in the discretion of the State Legislatures, which means that no negro will ever be permitted to vote in a great many States for a United States Senator, and means that the restrictive laws have this buttress for their perpetuity if the question comes before the Supreme Court. Suppose this action had been taken, I will not say immediately after the Civil War, with its heat and passion, but thirty years ago. There would have come through Henry

Ward Beecher from Plymouth pulpit, Dr. Storrs from the Puritan Church, and Theodore Parker from the Temple in Boston, an appeal which would have aroused the whole country. Every pulpit in the Northern States would have rung with denunciations of this bargain and surrender. All the great newspapers would have joined and mass meetings everywhere would have voiced the public indignation, but with the exception of a criticism from a few newspapers there is apparently no feeling left on the subject in the country.

Encouraged by this vote, the day after the repeal of this century and a quarter old protection for the Government and Congress was so overwhelmingly passed as a triumphant rider on the proposition for the election of Senators by the people, a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives to repeal the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

This half century is a wonderful inspiration for optimism. Let the American boys and girls who have become familiar with the rise and fall of empires, and with the startling revolutions in Europe during those fifty years, study the story of their own country from 1861 to 1911. It has no equal in all that tends to liberty, progress, intelligence and the influences which make life worth the living. There are some discoveries which are disquieting, but at the same time they have their compensations in health and the prolongation of life. Fifty years ago we had not discovered microbes or bacteria. We were peacefully ignorant of the battles which are constantly raging in our blood between the good and the bad microbes. Myriads of people died with peritonitis, not knowing that to cut out the appendix ended the trouble. Patent medicines, compounded mainly of whiskey,

opium or cocaine, were the greatest aids to the doctors and the undertakers. While the Pure Food Law which compels the makers of these stuffs to put their formula on the bottle is declared to be an invasion of individual liberty, it has saved millions of lives.

My breakfast for years has been one boiled egg. I found recently when I took it out of the shell that it was as lively as soda water when the bottle is first opened. It had fermented. I felt as did Horace Greeley, who, at a formal dinner, was so absorbed in his talk that, not noting what he was eating, he got a mouthful of the sorbet which was concocted of Jamaica rum. Angry and spluttering, he turned savagely to his hostess and shouted, "Madam, I never drink intoxicating liquors, and you know it, but if I did I don't want my rum frozen." I said to my dealer, "An egg fortifies me for the day, but I don't want soda water eggs, for which I am paying you sixty cents a dozen." "Well," said the eggman, "those are case eggs, but I will send you fresher eggs for seventy cents a dozen." Case eggs were cold storage eggs and the best of that class. Nearly fifty millions of the worst, which had become filthy poisons, were destroyed by the food inspectors this year. Yet the cold storage men say, "This is an interference with individual liberty." But that law should be strengthened. The farmer received for those seventy cent eggs only twenty cents a dozen; fifty cents went to the middlemen. If the farmers would form a co-operative trust they could divide that fifty cents with the consumers, and thus increase their profits and reduce the cost of living.

As industrial occupations have become hazardous we are progressing upon lines of legislation for the

mass as against the individual by making the individual responsible for death or for damages incurred in these employments. We have even within the last four years had legislation which makes the government as an employer responsible in compensatory damages for injuries to its employees. If I may mention myself in a birthday speech, that is one of my legislative monuments. People think right when they are informed. No demagogue long survives when the district school year has been extended from ninety days to nine months in his community. Just now many are rising to notice or distinction by denouncing the "Interests." The "Interests" has become almost as effective a cry for political purposes as was at one time the railroads and at another time corporations. When an analysis is made of what the orator is trying to accomplish in this vague denunciation of the "Interests" it will be found that it is an appeal to that universal unrest, strong in every one of us, against the fellow who is a little better off than ourselves.

A statesman in the Legislature at Albany the other day after the Assembly had cordially received me disturbed the harmony by saying that I did not represent the common people. It was a delightful occasion. This did not occur until after I left, but there is nothing perfect in this world. There is always a flaw in the emerald or a fly in the amber. But yet this statement may mar his own political future by talking about the common people. In our country, where all are equal before the law, where there are no classes, no privileges, where ninety-nine out of every hundred of the heads of our railroads, our banks, our insurance companies, our business enterprises, our statesmen, started as poor

boys, there are no common people. Even Lincoln never used that word, and if any man was a tribune of the people he in all our history is their leader. I heard General Spinola tell a story of how he ruined his chances once for the Assembly by saying in a speech in the Sixth Ward that he was glad to get down to that locality. An indignant citizen sprang to his feet and yelled, "Low-cality is it? We'll show you we are high-cality," and only the policeman saved him from the mob. Everybody ought to think for himself, but it is not easy to think right. I remember a Senator making a speech upon a question where his State was divided and the canvass for his re-election was on. As he balanced the pros and cons until it became a fair wager how long he would stay on the fence and on which side he would land, a witty colleague remarked, "That speech reminds me of a farmer who took his clock to the maker and said, 'I wish you would mend this clock. I do not know what is the matter with it, because when it strikes four and the hands point to twelve I know it is half past one.'"

Of the seventy-seven class is Doctor Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard. He celebrated his birthday during this month. I read on Sunday his interview in which he gives with that wonderful precision and lucidity which has always characterized him the rules which make him vigorous at seventy-seven and hopeful for the future. Cheerfulness and temperance run through his inspiring talk. I think I can agree with him when he says, "Go to church. Keep a clean heart and a good conscience. Give your mind exercise as well as your body—really think. Exercise regularly. Eat in moderation. Take a full allowance of sleep. Avoid indulgence

in luxury and the habitual use of any drug, not only of alcohol but of tobacco, tea and coffee." If I do not go to church on Sunday, I am uncomfortable the whole week, and I am always inspired by the services and the sermon. Eating in moderation I have preached at all these dinners, but I never have had time for regular exercises. Sleep is the absolute necessity for health and longevity. It was said of Napoleon that he required only four hours, but one of the innumerable biographies from those who were on his staff says that he often slept in his saddle. A man at seventy-seven should not attempt things which would be easy at forty no matter how vigorous he may feel. Matthew Arnold died because at sixty-five he took a flying leap over a high fence to shame the boys.

The most difficult advice to follow given by Doctor Eliot is to really think. Most people exercise their minds along the lines of their business or profession, but on general subjects let the newspapers do the thinking for them. This becomes a habit from which it is almost impossible to break away and real thinking becomes too hard a task. A farmer on the western reserve of Ohio, sitting with a troubled look on his face, was asked by a traveler what was the matter. He said, "My Democratic neighbor got the better of me in an argument last night, but wait until the weekly *Tribune* comes with old Greeley's editorial and then I will smash him to bits."

Passing through Albany at one time I learned that the Governor of our State, a very successful man, and whom I highly valued as a friend, was ill. I stopped over a train and went up to see him. I found him in dressing-gown and slippers, surrounded by the hundreds of bills which had

been left on his hands by the Legislature and which were to be signed or sent unsigned to the Secretary of State's office before the constitutional limit of days allowed him had expired. He said, "Chauncey, here are questions of sociology, of municipal government, of the regulation of charities, of reformatories, of conservation and a hundred other things, to which I have never given attention. You make so many speeches on so many questions that you must do a great deal of thinking. I wonder if it affects you as it does me?" "Well," I said, "Governor, how does it affect you?" He said, "The same as a rough sea, and I am a mighty poor sailor."

I was talking the other day with a farmer, an old friend, and he revealed to me a brand new way of getting around these most necessary laws against watering milk, short measure in the basket and the barrel and short weight on the scales, legislation against which is all of this period that I have been discussing. He said, "I let my cows in warm weather stand during the middle of the day in water. I find that by the processes of absorption they give twenty per cent more milk." Of course this method of watering milk is beyond the reach of the law or the inspector.

My friend Choate has said in one of his happy speeches that from seventy to eighty are the best days in a long life. Having already passed the majority of these years, I am in full accord with my friend. Gladstone said that the best and happiest period of his life was after sixty, but he was in the eighties when he swept the country by a marvelous personal canvass and carried his Irish Home Rule Bill, and at eighty-five he wrote to that most delightful of English social leaders, Lady Dorothy Nevill, "The year hand of the clock of time has

marked eighty-five and has nearly run its course. I have much cause to be thankful, still more to be prospective." It was my privilege to meet Lady Dorothy very often years ago, and so I read with the greatest interest her reminiscences which have recently been published. In them Lady Dorothy tells this charming story about an aunt who, she says, was the homeliest woman in Great Britain, so homely that she passed forty without ever receiving an offer. Wolfe, the explorer, was the lion of the London season and sat beside her at dinner. She became so excited with his adventures among the lions and elephants that she dropped her fork. The explorer unhesitatingly plunged under the table to find it in a more adventurous journey than he had ever had in Central Africa. When he discovered it he pinched her foot. It was the only attention she had ever received and she fell madly in love with him. Soon after they were married. This reminds me that in reading the life of Samuel Rogers, the poet banker, his biography says that while his faculties were not impaired otherwise his memory was completely gone after ninety. An effort which was made by a scientist to rouse that faculty when Rogers was ninety-two resulted only in his recalling the name of the girl who had rejected his offer of marriage when he was a young man. The story of the pinch of the foot and its result and of this only recollection of the nonagenarian poet indicates what lives when everything else has died.

I frequently meet with men past sixty who complain that their friends and companions are dead and they are unable to find new ones to take their places. So they say life is very dull and uninteresting. These unfortunate people have not found the

true secret of happiness at any age. It is to be part of each generation, to be a participant in its work and in its play, to appreciate its fun and not laugh at its follies, to be an elder brother in your church associations, in your political organizations, in your club life, in your fraternity, so alert and valuable in your activities that you are welcomed by the youngest and the experience of venerable years gives a value to your advice which commands the attention of all. This appreciation and applause is the most healthful of tonics and one of the best aids to vigorous longevity.

**Speech at the Twenty-first Annual Dinner given by the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Seventy-eighth Birthday, May 4, 1912.**

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

To-night this series of birthday dinners comes of age. For twenty-one successive years you have honored me with this compliment. Some members have died, but their sons, introduced to me here when they were boys, are now succeeding their fathers among my generous hosts. I know nothing in the way of friendly greeting from a large body of men which compares with it. Some things have occurred at this table during this period which have been widely published and discussed. Through them the Montauk Club has been mentioned and known all over the world. I remember some years ago walking down the Strand in London with Governor Woodruff, how both of us were astonished to hear the newsboys shouting, "Speech of Chauncey Depew at the Montauk Club," and to see the name in black letters on every news stands under the heading of the newspaper which featured the event. Multitudes became familiar with the Montauk Club who had never before, and have never since, heard of Brooklyn.

The presence here of my friends Governor Woodruff and Comptroller Prendergast suggests an illuminating incident showing the effects of the Presidential primary on the citizen. They live in the same Congressional district which is entitled to two

delegates to the National Republican Convention. It is a most intelligent community brought up under the eloquence of Henry Ward Beecher and the Reverend Dr. Storrs, two of the most remarkable orators of this generation. Woodruff announced that he was for Taft. Prendergast declared emphatically for Roosevelt, and this constituency elected both unanimously.

In the varying periods at which people arrive at intelligent maturity, it is hard to determine how twenty-one came to be selected as the proper date for every degree of intelligence. In my own experience I have known many who were fully qualified for the responsibilities of manhood several years before twenty-one and others who never became of age. For some unaccountable reason they fail to grasp the opportunities which come to every man in a greater or less degree during his life. Their progress is arrested somehow and they never get beyond the station where they have landed, while others make a tremendous splurge in their progression but never arrive. Many in their intellectual equipment present a Queen Anne front with a Mary Ann back. They seem to possess everything necessary for success, and yet their friends are always disappointed in them and can never tell what screw is loose in their machinery.

In looking over the record of the seventy-eight years of my life, of which more than sixty years have been intensively active, during which time I have been blessed with rare opportunities for acquaintances and worldwide observations, I find no place for the pessimism of to-day which is so prevalent in every organ of public opinion and at every gathering of the people. They tell us that the family bond is loosening and the sacred tie of

marriage has lost strength in the knot. There are twenty millions of married people in the United States, and the percentage of them who have sought relief in the courts from their bond is not appreciable compared with the whole. They say suicides are increasing. There are ninety millions of people in the United States, and a suicide is so rare that it occupies the headlines for that one unfortunate. They complain that there is an increase in breaches of trust. There have been in the last twenty years continuously in places of the highest trust in corporations and fiduciary relations with individuals at least twenty-five thousand people, and yet a breach of trust is so rare in a great institution or in the administration of an estate that it arrests and occupies the attention of the whole country. They tell us that religion has been superseded by doubt, but the churches were never so near together, never worked so harmoniously in common, never were rendering such efficient service and never so open. Their contributions were never so large nor so efficiently applied. There were never so many assisting organizations, like the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, the Epworth League, the Christian Endeavor Society, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and now this newly organized and aggressive force, gathering strength from day to day, the Religion and Forward Movement.

It is true there is unrest in the world. It is more acute than ever before. It is in all countries. It has come from the increase in education and the enlargement of the world view to the individual everywhere, but, with the exception of the infinitesimally small number of anarchistic leaders, it is an honest, earnest and wholesome striving for

better conditions, and, in the end, for more harmonious relations between all classes and conditions of the community.

In our annual celebrations during these twenty-one years, we have touched lightly, for it could only be lightly, upon the happenings of the twelve months preceding. We have always drawn from them the lesson of hope and the inspiration of progress. As we look back over the whole twenty-one years they are pregnant with lessons. The principal lesson is the value of discussion and education in affairs affecting the government and the people as a whole. I have ceased to be frightened or greatly disturbed over tumultuous popular uprisings which seem to threaten the very foundations. The Ark of the Covenant may rock on rough roads, or with incompetent guides, or the efforts of impious hands to see what would follow the destruction of faith, and yet after proper efforts, after the lazy have been energized, after the atmosphere has been cleared by the heat of debate, the social and political fabric is not rebuilt but improved and remains stable for another long period.

Our experiment of government started with the Confederation. It was found to be a rope of sand. With that experience our Fathers framed the present Constitution and created a Republic of sovereign States with a supreme central government. They threw every possible check around hasty and immature action and every guard which wisdom and forethought could devise against revolution. The result is that our Constitution is the only one in the world which lives to-day as it did one hundred and twenty-five years ago and is found as adaptable for all the wants, all the desires, all the

aspirations and all the development of ninety millions of people and forty-eight States as it was for three millions of people and thirteen States.

I well remember the years of the slavery discussion from '48 to '61. It began with a few Abolitionists who were regarded as anarchists. With discussion and debate, it got so far as to safeguard the institution where it existed and to prohibit its extension into the States that were to be formed out of the new territories. On that issue and the preservation of the Union we fought the Civil War and slavery was abolished and the Union was triumphant. Then came the long discussion of reconstruction. Had the extremist prevailed the States which went into rebellion would have remained subject provinces with a certainty of frequent revolutions. Again discussion and debate allayed passions, buried resentments, recognized that the country must live, if it lived at all, under the Constitution of the Fathers and with a central government and sovereign States as they originated it. That settled forever the question of the Union of the States and of the powers of the Federal Government as distinguished from those of the state sovereignties.

We can all remember the cowardice of the public men of all parties in the United States during the period of irredeemable currency and fiat money. Again discussion and debate, aided by frequent panics and frightful bankruptcies, brought us to the resumption of specie payments. Then for twenty years cowardice among those who knew, and there were not many, and the desire to catch the fleeting sentiment of the hour by demagogues, and there were many, and the passionate belief in silver which was almost universal ruled and nearly

ruined the country. Again discussion and debate, and the wholesome discipline of financial disturbances and industrial disasters and general bankruptcies clarified the air and that question was disposed of. We came to a gold standard like all the rest of the highly organized industrial nations of the world.

We then entered at once upon an extraordinary period of development of resources, of extension of enterprises, of settlement of new lands, of organization of growing communities and a general prosperity such as the world has never witnessed.

The Presidents during this period, and I will only speak of those who have joined the majority, were Harrison, Cleveland and McKinley.

Harrison was one of the ablest of our Presidents. He was a great lawyer and had a wonderful and intuitive grasp of our internal policy and foreign relations. He had an unfortunate manner, though a very warm, genial, loving and lovable disposition. I have known many public men who failed long before they reached the presidency because of unfortunate manners. I have known many business men who were most unpopular for the same reason. It comes usually from the hard struggle in the beginning of a career. It comes sometimes from timidity and distrust of one's self. I have known people who were most rude and discourteous, which was their only method of asserting their individuality and equality with others who, for some reason which they could not account for, they distrusted or feared. General Harrison said to me one day, "My whole life has been one of struggle and fight. No one ever did me a favor or lent me a helping hand. I began alone without fortune or acquaintances. Every step of my career has been

against violent, and often virulent, opposition." In that brief expression I saw the secret of his unpopularity. Everyone with whom he came in contact was a possible enemy, but when the story of his administration comes to be written his fame will grow brighter as the narrative advances.

Harrison offered me a place in his Cabinet at the beginning of his administration and the position of Secretary of State when Blaine resigned, which I declined, but promised to accept if he was re-elected. This brought about an opportunity for intimacy with and study and appreciation of this remarkable man who won laurels on battlefields as a soldier, distinction at the Bar and an enduring place in our history as a statesman.

Cleveland I knew at the Bar—a strong, robust, virile, self-reliant, aggressive, courageous and honest personality. I have met all the leaders of the Bar of the last fifty years, and he certainly was an original. While President of the New York Central Railroad I offered him the attorneyship of the company in Western New York. I said to him that he could so organize his office as to keep his present practice which was worth ten thousand dollars a year, while the place I offered him would add fifteen thousand to it. His answer was unique—"I have set for myself a limit of the work I will do and reserve time enough for pleasure and sport and to fish. I have reached my limit in my private practice, and a hundred thousand dollars a year would not tempt me to add an hour more to what I am doing." His convictions were adamant. He had been brought up in the Democratic faith and would put into practice its theories. When the Wilson Tariff Bill was passed, which was a compromise between Democratic theories and pro-

tection practices within his party, he denounced it as a scheme of perfidy and dishonor and withheld his signature. He demanded the repeal of the Silver Purchase Bill which threatened endless trouble to our currency, and with the aid of Republican votes secured it. He vetoed the Bland Silver Bill which was the Waterloo of Silver, either by itself or in the double standard, being the standard of value in the United States.

Those three things lost him the support of his party. He retired from office with an unanimity never equalled because the Republicans were naturally against him and he did not have a corporal's guard of political friends in his own party. But his rugged figure will ever be a conspicuous one among American statesmen. His style in his public documents and addresses had a Johnsonian characteristic which was new in our political literature. I asked him where he acquired it and how. He said, "My father was a clergyman. His means were limited and he could not afford to send me to the academies, and so I was educated at home. He took particular pains with my compositions, and naturally he taught me the style of his sermons. The result was that while at the Bar in Buffalo when a member died I was always called upon to write the obituary."

McKinley was the most genial and lovable of our Presidents. He would give a visitor a pink from the bouquet which was always on his table in a manner which led the recipient to believe that none other of the millions of men and women and children in the United States had ever received such a distinction. Yet he gave pinks to everybody who called without destroying this illusion.

He was the most accomplished campaigner

among our Presidents and had few equals upon the platform in popularity and persuasion. He sensed, as it were, the public temper and how it might be moved as few have ever done. His campaign for the Presidency was an extraordinary illustration of the thought, which I have been advancing, that with discussion, argument and debate the American people in the end come out right, no matter how wrong they may have been from temporary causes for a period. Mark Hanna, the most practical statesman who ever lived, raised and spent four millions of dollars in that canvass, not to buy votes but to erect a platform and put a speaker on it in every school district in the United States, to secure space in the columns of newspapers in every locality and to print tons of literature and send colporteurs to distribute it in buggy-wagons throughout all the highways and byways of the land. That was what won the gold standard over the silver craze under most unfavorable conditions.

Mr. McKinley sent for me during this campaign and said, "I wish you could take your car and go down through those disaffected regions where the farmers are all Republicans, but where they are in distress because corn is fifteen cents and wheat sixty cents a bushel, and they cannot pay the interest on their mortgages and have hard work with their taxes. They think fifty-cent silver, if it has the stamp of the United States upon it, will give them double for their corn, wheat, cattle and hogs, and then they can use it at par to pay the interest on their mortgages and their taxes, and the other things which they would ordinarily desire they can go without for a long time."

"But," I said, "Mr. McKinley, I am President of a great railroad and with a private car those

people would mob me." He said, "Nothing of the kind. It is the shock which will secure their attention and then your talk will convince them of their error." I remember once from a great audience a farmer arose, when I thought I was making an impressive argument against silver, and said, "Chauncey Depew, we are glad to see you, but what right have you to come among us in our distress when the present prices of the things we have to sell do not pay for the raising of them, while we think with fifty-cent silver we will get double the price. But that is not what I complain of; it is that you, President of a great railroad, with a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year, and in a private car, should come down here and attempt to instruct us." I lost the audience at once. There is a favorite song in Yale—"Audacia! Audacia! It is the word I love the best." I stepped to the front of the platform while a great hush came over the audience and said, "Sir, my father gave me my education and profession and then figuratively threw me out of the window to look out for myself and never helped me afterwards. I began in a little village, with no capital but my legs, my hands and my head. I had a hard struggle trying cases before country Justices of the Peace, where I would furnish my own horse and wagon and ride ten, fifteen or twenty miles and back after the case was tried for five dollars or less. An opportunity came to me to be the attorney of a railroad. I saw that meant that instead of one client and petty grievances, every one of the thousands of stockholders of the company would be my clients, as represented in the Board of Directors whom they elected every year, and instead of having a score or so of clients, I got many thousand.

"A railroad counsel's business is mainly to prevent the strong and masterful men who have come up from the bottom and are running the corporation from violating the law and to keep them straight within the law. Now I am President, and getting a big salary, as you say, and I am here in a private car which is all part of my compensation. I understand (this I did not know, but it happened to be true) that you have at college a son who is your pride and hope; that after he graduates at the coming Commencement you intend to make him a lawyer and you are making great sacrifices to put him through college and give him his profession. Now, if you are doing that in order that he shall practice law for his health, then I have no right to be here, but if you wish him to start where I did, with the chance of getting where I am, then I do not think that you can criticise me." He yelled so you could hear him a mile, "Go on, Chauncey, you are all right." There is no subject so interesting as what is effective in political discussion before an audience. That little incident, illustrative of the possibilities of American citizenship for the youth of the land, had more influence than all the argument which could be presented.

Mr. McKinley sent for me again and said, "Mr. Bryan is producing a tremendous impression in our State, and a very dangerous one, not by what he says, but by his endurance. No one has ever gone through our State of Ohio who has spoken so often and so many hours in a single day. The papers are full of his last performance. I want you to go over that route and do the same thing. As you are nearly twice his age, it will be the most effective counterblast I can think of." I did as he requested, starting at seven o'clock in the morn-

ing, stopping at the same places, scheduled for the same length of time, with enormous audiences everywhere, and capped it by adding a two-hour speech to a great audience at night. The endurance test as a qualification for the Presidency passed out of the canvass.

With the exception of the war for the preservation of the Union, all our perils under the Constitution have been averted by discussion and debate. A busy people, engrossed in their various occupations, have little time to study serious questions of government. The ability to transact the affairs of the people, the same as the affairs of a corporation, or a firm, or a co-operative society, or a charitable or religious organization, or a labor union, does not depend upon superior intelligence but upon experience and the time which can be taken from one's other pursuits to serve a large constituency. It is because the lawyer or the plumber, the doctor or the carpenter, the minister or the mason, knows more about his particular business and the performance of it in the interests of others than the whole mass can that society is thus divided, and each employs the others for its comfort, safety and enterprises. So, representative government became established by the selection by busy people of competent men to do this special and most needful work.

At present, however, there is a new agitation which has much force and is progressing rapidly and is exciting in many minds the greatest alarm. We are better educated than ever before and that has created our unrest. At the same time our minds are open to a quicker apprehension of the right and wrong of all propositions by more education.

I have not time here, nor have you, to enter upon this discussion, except to briefly state a few self-

evident facts. The appeal made by their projectors to the people for these new policies is that the people do not have their share in their own government. As ours is absolutely a government by the people, with frequent elections to test the capacity and ability of the officials whom they have elected, it is hard to see how the people do not have their share in the government.

Pushed to the extreme, the claim is that the people do not need mayors and boards of aldermen for their cities, or presidents and village trustees for their villages, or boards of supervisors for their counties, or governors and legislatures for their States, or Presidents and Congresses for the general government, nor courts to protect the weak against the strong and to administer justice without fear or favor of power, or wealth or influence. It is proposed, as soon as a governor or a congressman or a judge is elected, to allow a small percentage of the people to immediately, by petition, suspend his functions and compel him to submit to another election. When an unpopular verdict was rendered the other day, some of the most advanced of this school added to their program also the recall of the jury. These propositions are not new. They were fully argued by Aristotle over twenty-three hundred years ago and declared by him to substitute a government by anarchy for a government by law. But, then, the new school tells us that there is no virtue or wisdom in the past which we are bound to follow. The old fogies who framed the Constitution are all right in their niches in the temple of fame, but except as models for monuments to ornament parks their usefulness long since departed.

There was an article recently in the papers that the literature class at one of our greatest colleges

had been permitted to discard history and the classics and study only recent literature. Aristotle was quoted favorably by one of the authors in the day's lesson, and the professor asked in what period Aristotle wrote. The answer was, "about 1840; certainly not earlier."

I discovered while in the Senate that there are statesmen who, especially on questions in which labor unions are interested, will prepare and present bills which are transparently unconstitutional. For fear that they may lose the authorship, they will not permit any changes. Their colleagues let them have their way on account of the strength of Senatorial courtesy, and also for fear that an attempt to amend will be regarded as hostility to the measure by the labor unions. When the Supreme Court decides the act unconstitutional, the author berates the court and shouts that the people do not govern themselves and wants the judges recalled. He neglects to state that the court invariably says in its decision how that act can be made constitutional and effect the same purpose. The court simply performs its duty and throws back upon the legislative body the necessity of performing its duty intelligently.

We have long had the referendum in our State on Constitutional questions. The Constitutional amendments, however, have been thoroughly prepared and passed by two legislatures before they are submitted, and have been discussed in the press and on the platform. A table made up recently showed this startling result; that on all the constitutional amendments which have been submitted to the people of this State only thirty per cent of those who voted for public officers at the time voted at all on the constitutional amendments, and a

majority of this thirty per cent put the amendments into the Constitution, the result showing that a minority of about sixteen per cent of the voters of the State who voted at the same elections amended the fundamental law. In the submission last year the amendments, most of which were most valuable, were defeated. I met at the polls a doctor of great reputation and extensive practice and a mechanic who does a great deal of work for me. I said, "How about the constitutional amendments?" and each answered substantially, "I have not had time to read and study them, and so voted against them all on the ground that we seem to have a pretty good Constitution and I do not propose to change it without more study and reflection."

I have twice been a Member of the Legislature of our State and twelve years a United States Senator. It has given me much experience in the way laws are made. An act is prepared, more or less carefully, and then passes the scrutiny of a committee, and then attention and debate in the whole house, and then review by the Governor. Even with this care many laws fail to meet the object for which they were enacted, and are amended or repealed at the next session. Under the initiative a small minority, wishing to accomplish some definite object, prepares a statute, and the majority of those who vote, which may be much less than a majority of the whole electorate, command the Legislature to enact and the Governor to sign this law just as this little body prepared it. I know of no device so potent for able, scheming, plausible, unscrupulous and rich men to defraud and injure the public.

With us in New York City the evils of our local government become so great at times that the peo-

ple arise in their might and men of all parties unite in a reform movement which places clean and able representatives of the people in power. As soon as the reform has accomplished its purpose, the various elements disband, and, except under similar revolutionary efforts years afterward, can never be brought together. This reform movement elected Mayor Gaynor, who has proved to be an admirable executive, Comptroller Prendergast, one of the best financial officers the City has ever had, and the Borough Presidents who are doing excellent work. In addition, it elected several Justices of the Supreme Court. Under the recall, when Tammany once more had come into power and we had forgotten, as we do so rapidly, the causes which elected the reform ticket, ten per cent of the voters could recall them, and within a year they would all be out of office and the old order in authority.

During this period there has been greater progress for universal peace among the nations than in all preceding time, and yet the last year shows how frail, as yet, are ties of peace. The lure of the Orient captured the imagination of Rome three thousand years ago, for the destruction of Carthage, the control of the Mediterranean and the conquest of Africa. After thirty centuries there is a recrudescence of the same spirit, which seizes Tripoli and brings on a war with Turkey, producing international complications, the result of which no one can predict.

I met last summer an old diplomat who was a mine of the secrets of his profession. He told a story which illustrated how near we were, for a while, to the most disastrous war of modern times. The German Emperor, the most aggressive ruler his country ever had, made his delphic utterance

that Germany must have her place in the Sun. From the German standpoint, and after her success in acquiring Alsace and Lorraine, there was no country which could be crowded out to make room for Germany, except France. There was a revolt against the Sultan of Morocco and anarchy existed at the Moroccan capital. Germany said to France, "As you have the controlling influence in Morocco, you must restore order, so our people will not be molested in their trade and commerce, or we will do it." France said, "Very well, we will assume the responsibility." The French army marched to Fez, subdued the rebellion, restored order and saved the Sultan. Germany then said, "This success of yours has given France such undue prominence in Africa that Germany must be compensated." But France replied, "We undertook this at your request, and not for conquest, and we will retire at once and move our army back to Algiers." Germany said, "That will not help. Your government has been given prestige, and that is an undue power, and so we must be compensated."

German cruisers appeared in Moroccan ports, and an army of 700,000 men, the strongest, best disciplined and best equipped in the world, was ready to move across the French frontier on an hour's notice. England emphatically declared herself an ally of France, and Russia was not far behind. It was discovered that the French army was more efficient than since Napoleon, and that there was a patriotic spirit in France which had not been equalled in any period since the Republic. Then began the famous conversations between my old friend Ambassador Cambon and the German foreign minister von Kinderlen-Waechter. Cambon is a delightful conversationalist, but even his powers

must have been strained to keep up the interest for hours every day during several months. The conversations resulted, however, in granting France suzerainty over Morocco, which may cause more trouble than it will give profit, and Germany secured its bigger place in the Sun by taking from France a large part of her African possessions.

Contempt for the wisdom of the past is also not new. My father was a plain-spoken man with the characteristics of the earlier people whose ancestors settled along the Hudson River. In his declining years he was accustomed to sit on the piazza, smoke his cigar and read his paper. There were some college students practicing for a boat race in the bay. Returning after their exercises, they jumped onto the wall of the terrace in front of the house and began discussing the superiority of the present generation over the preceding ones. One of them said triumphantly, "My father is seventy-five years old and for his period a very intelligent man, but with the opportunities there are to-day I know more and have more intelligence than my father has at seventy-five," and turning around he shouted to my father, "Well, old gentleman, what do you think of that?" Father's answer was, "I was thinking what a damned fool your father must be."

No American can fail to be a progressive. The story of American progress during the one hundred and twenty-five years under our form of government is a most thrilling narrative. It surpasses in romance and reality the progress of all preceding ages. We only need to study to learn that most of these new notions are not progress, but they were tried thoroughly and ended in lamentable disasters in ancient and mediæval republics and in the revolutions of modern governments.

Talleyrand, fleeing from the guillotine in the French Revolution, and coming to America, wrote to Madame de Staël that he found here thirty-two religions and only one sauce, but when Talleyrand's countrymen arrive on the occasion of the celebration of the unveiling of the monument to Champlain this week, they will discover that probably we have more forms of religion and religious sects than existed in Talleyrand's time, but we have as many sauces in our restaurants and hotels as are to be found in Paris.

We think there is nothing new under the sun, and Wall Street remarks, as if it was the discovery of that self-sufficient body, that there is danger in advance information, but this wise old Frenchman Talleyrand also wrote that in betting on certainties he lost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

I met a friend the other day whom I had not seen for a long time and whom I thought had joined the majority because he was a consumptive. He seemed to be as he had been twenty years before, and said, "No, Chauncey, it was not consumption but asthma, and you can live forever if you only have asthma and the grace of God."

One of my experiences while in Europe is to be asked about expatriated Americans who have assumed titles of nobility. A French lady of the bluest blood said to me last summer, "A countryman of yours who claims French descent has sent to us an extraordinary genealogy. It surpasses in distinction that of the oldest and most distinguished of our nobility. Do you know how he came by it?" "Oh, yes," I said, "his ancestor fought gloriously at Agincourt in 1415, and was killed at Waterloo."

Well, my friends, the beautiful lesson which we can draw from these recurring anniversaries and

their review of the past is what a glorious world we live in and what a mighty privilege it is to live. We were not created to dream or to long for idle days and hours, but to so work that in its accomplishments we derive pleasure from our work and to so play that our amusements are our health restorers and our sanatoriums, to so love that we can derive comfort and instruction and happiness from the whole circle, not only of our friends but of our acquaintances, and to have faith so firm in our country and its future that without fear and without doubt, but with hope eternal, we can, after we have done our share as citizens, leave it unimpaired to those who come after us.

## Speech at the Twenty-second Annual Dinner given by the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Seventy-ninth Birthday, April 26, 1913.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

With each recurrence of these anniversaries I am more impressed with the permanence of friendship. The proof is here to-night. For twenty-two years the members of this Club in celebrating my birthday added to the pleasure of the first meeting an original compliment. In twenty-two years several generations of club members come and go, but there is always a central phalanx of veterans to keep up principles and traditions of the organization. I have been greeted to-night by fathers who have brought their sons, and by sons who have brought the grandsons of those who welcomed me within these walls twenty-two years ago. The political revolutions which have taken place in the country and in the State, the financial crises which have for a time paralyzed our industries, and the agitations which seemed revolutionary, but disappeared, have neither interrupted nor impaired our numbers or the pleasures of our anniversaries.

Lucian, the famous gossip of antiquity, the predecessor and originator of the immortal Pepys, in one of his stories, says that he called upon a famous centenarian named Gorgias who lived at Corinth seventeen hundred years ago, anxious to put the questions to which every centenarian has been subjected ever since, and probably before, for there is

nothing new under the sun. Lucian called upon Gorgias to find out the secrets of his extreme age. He said to him, "You have just had your one hundred and eighth birthday and are enjoying splendid health, vigor, and vitality. Now, to what do you ascribe it?" Gorgias answered, "To the fact that I never have accepted an invitation to dine out." One of our centenarians a few days ago, answering the same question at one hundred and three, said in his case it was due to the fact that he had eaten a red herring every day. I think the American had the better time. He certainly did not eat that herring alone, and it created a thirst which led to companionship in quenching it.

What a ghastly century was that of Gorgias who had never dined out. The brilliant men of his period, the sculptors who are the despair of our artists, the architects whom we can never equal, the philosophers and poets who have been models of all succeeding generations, the orators, statesmen, and soldiers whom subsequent history has never eclipsed, all were visitors during his long life to beautiful and artistic Corinth, and he might, at the dinners which were invariably given them, have enjoyed the pleasures of their society and left an autobiography of personal reminiscences of incalculable value to posterity.

I have met most of the distinguished men and women of my time in this and other countries, and with scarcely an exception the best I ever knew of them occurred at dinner. An evening with Gladstone was a liberal education. He possessed the most comprehensive mind of his generation and was gifted with the most graphic power of expressing his opinions. A formal interview with him was of little value, but in the confidences and intimacies

of a long dinner at a friend's house, Gladstone could be more eloquent, more impressive, and more delightful than in his best efforts in the House of Commons. It was possible on such occasions to study the workings of that marvelous mind and get an insight into the sources of his magnetic power.

To read Browning's poems was one thing, but to hear Browning talk at dinner was much more human, informing, and charming. He said to me that when, at the request of the government, the Duke of Sutherland gave a dinner to the Shah of Persia at Stafford House, he was one of the guests. In order to impress this semi-savage monarch, everyone was requested to wear all their regalia. The Prince of Wales and members of the royal family, the dukes, marquises, and earls came in all the medieval splendor of their rank and order, and with all their jewels, real and paste. Mr. Browning said that, having no rank, he came in the crimson gown of an honor man of Cambridge University. Diamonds did not impress the Shah, because the buttons on his coat were real stones as big as horse chestnuts. The ermine and tiaras produced no impression upon him, because he and his suite were arrayed in more barbaric splendor. But his wild eye roving around the table came upon this crimson Cambridge robe at the foot where, as a commoner, the poet sat. The Shah instantly said, "Who is that great man?" "Why, that is Mr. Browning." "What is he?" "He is a poet." "Command him to come here and sit beside me." So a royalty or a prime minister was displaced and the embarrassed poet was put beside the autocrat. The Shah said, "I understand you are a poet, a great poet," which Browning modestly admitted. "Well, then," he said, "I want you to stay here with me, because

more than the fact that I am the supreme ruler of Persia, I am a great poet myself." Mr. Browning assured me that the story was true; also that the Shah said to the then Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, "This is a magnificent palace." The prince said, "Yes, this is the finest palace in Great Britain." "Well," said the Shah, "let me give you a little piece of advice. When one of my nobility gets rich enough to live in a palace like this, I cut off his head and take what he has. It is very simple and saves a great deal of trouble."

But the night will not permit an enumeration. I have learned more State secrets from Cabinet Ministers abroad in the confidences of the dinner table than I could have had in years of residence, and, under similar circumstances, the armor of reserve has dropped from Presidents of the United States, and their troubles, their anxieties, their wishes, their ambitions, their friends and their enemies have been an open book. "Ah! but," says the philosopher who is eternally denouncing the opportunities of wealth, "dinners are all very well for you, but how about the rest of us?" Why, my dear sir, the dullest, most stupid and most borish dinner I ever attended cost one hundred dollars a plate, while my most delightful evenings have been with a bohemian coterie where a dollar was the limit. The cost of the dinner, the rarity of its wines, and the brand of its cigars are of no account unless about the table are men and women of mind, of individuality, of versatility, of something to give which is worth receiving, and a willingness to listen to the message which you think is worth delivering.

Senator Hoar, who in his long, brilliant, and most distinguished career had met everybody worth knowing, told me that no gathering, however small or

however large, equaled in wit and wisdom, in flashes of genius, in things always to be remembered and never to be forgotten, the weekly luncheons at Parker's in Boston, where Longfellow, Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker and others, and Judge Hoar, the brightest of them all, met for a weekday luncheon.

Judge Robertson, of Westchester, and I were invited by Secretary of State Seward to dine with him in Washington on our way to the Republican National Convention which renominated President Lincoln. That dinner changed the Vice-President from Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, to Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, and made a different chapter in American history.

The newspapers which tell us everything say that the present tariff and income tax bills were perfected at a dinner at the White House. This brings us in immediate and acute contact with the most interesting of current events.

In my fifty-seven years in public and semi-public life I have participated in many political revolutions, and in none of them have these changes especially of the tariff been received with so little excitement and scarcely a suggestion of passion. There are no editorials or flaming speeches predicting direful disasters, or indignation meetings resolving that we are on the brink of financial and industrial ruin. These tariff propositions going as they do to the very foundation of our financial and industrial system, and the manner in which they are received, are high indications of that much abused word "Progress." We have become a deliberative and contemplative people. Without inherited prejudices or partisan bias, we can calmly weigh measures and policies and arrive at individual con-

clusions as to results when they crystallize into law. We all recognize that at some time these theories must be tried. We have all recognized that at some time the theorists must have devolved upon them the responsibilities of government. There has been no period since the Civil War when experiments could be tried with less danger than now. The country never was so prosperous, employment was never so general, wages were never so high, the farmer was never so rich or receiving such returns for the product of his field and his live stock, the output of the manufactories was never so great, the expansion of our credit and the amount of our exchanges were never so large, and our imports and exports never reached such a volume. The fly in the amber, or, to put it more seriously, our irritation and discontent under these otherwise happy conditions is the high cost of living. The laws which our new rulers are putting in force will affect equally all the people; therefore, it is the duty of all of us to wish them God speed and good luck. It is the hope of all of us that the realization of their dreams, which some of us have feared, will be in the line of their most sanguine hopes. Their problem is a difficult one. In simple form, it is how to reduce the cost of living without impairing opportunities of earning a living. In that is the whole crux of the situation.

It has been our habit to touch lightly and if possible informingly upon the things that have happened since our last gathering. The Constitution of the United States has not been amended in over one hundred years. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which were passed after the Civil War, were really not amendments, but simply declarations of principles which were in the Declaration

of Independence and in the spirit of the original instrument.

But after over one hundred years of satisfaction with the Constitution, within this year two amendments have been added, one an income tax, the other for the election of United States Senators by the people. I am not going to discuss these measures. They are here to stay. But when the history of their passage comes to be written, it will be disclosed that there are some curious phases of human nature.

When the amendment to the Constitution of the United States for an income tax came before our New York Legislature, it was defeated by a message from Governor Hughes. That message did not oppose an income tax, but clearly stated that the needs of our commonwealth were growing so rapidly and the sources of State taxation were so limited that the income tax should be left to the States, and the general government, with its infinite possibilities, could raise revenue from other sources. When the income tax amendment was under discussion in the Senate, I had a heart-to-heart talk with a group of Senators from the Western States who were urging its adoption. I said to them, "Our revenues at present are furnishing a surplus. We never will need to resort to this method of taxation except in a great emergency. Then why do you want it now?" Their answer was "Because with an income tax we can collect one-half the expenses of the government from your State of New York, and the other half from New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois." The exemption of four thousand dollars a year in the present bill shows that these gentlemen control this legislation, because very few in their

States have an income of that size. It is an interesting question in legislation of this kind, since in no country in the world where they have an income tax is the exemption equal to one thousand dollars, whether in order to have the whole people alert, inquisitive, and critical upon the expenses of government and in checking extravagance, the largest possible number should not have their attention called to those expenditures by contributing something toward the support of the government.

When the income tax amendment was before our New York Legislature, I said to a man who as much as any other controlled that body, "Did you think Governor Hughes was right?" He said, "Yes." I then told him what these Western Senators had said to me. He said, "That I believe, too." I said, "Then why are you urging the adoption of this amendment by our State?" His answer was, "Because Bryan wants it."

When the amendment for the election of the United States Senators by the people was so framed that the United States Government had the power to see that all the people voted and that none was disfranchised, I said to the Senators from the States where the negro is disfranchised, "Do you see danger of a force bill if this amendment is adopted? Don't you think that as crises arise, and they will arise, where a majority of the States feel that certain measures in which they are interested could be passed if all the people, including the negroes, in your States voted, they will pass laws under which the government will see that they do vote, at least for United States Senators?" They said, "Yes, we see all those dangers." I said, "Then why are you voting for it?" Their answer was, "Because Bryan wants it."

This brings us to a horizontal view of one of the paradoxes of our American life. We are rushing with unprecedented rapidity for us, for we are a conservative people, toward the breaking down of the safeguards which are in the Constitution against hasty and inconsiderate action by the people. We are proceeding upon the theory that leadership no longer does or ought to exist, that all matters should originate with and be decided upon by the people as a mass on the passion or emotion of the moment and without the intervention of representative bodies or interpretations by the courts, and yet there never was a time when leadership counted for so much as it does to-day. There never was a time when leaders asserted themselves with such confidence and autocratic authority. More than four millions of Republicans followed Colonel Roosevelt in the last campaign not because they wanted to break up the Republican party, not because they adopted all the doctrines of his platform or of his speeches, but because they believed in Roosevelt and wanted for President of the United States a strong, militant, aggressive, and audacious leader. The National Convention of the Democratic party at Baltimore was swayed by Mr. Bryan. It was recognized that the great mass of his party recognized him as a supreme leader whom they were willing to follow wherever he chose to go. For the first time in one hundred and twenty-three years the President of the United States leaves the Executive Mansion and appears at the Capitol to impress upon the Legislative Branch of the Government his views upon pending legislation. These are not symptoms, but facts. With all the shouting and the trumpeting for a pure democracy, the exactions of our busy, hurried, rapid, nervous life call for

a leader in every department more than at any other period in our history.

The same is true in the industrial disorders which are now so acute. In their more revolutionary phases they are governed by a leader with very few assistants, whose power is unlimited, whose authority is unquestioned.

Another curious phase of this trend to pure democracy is that its leaders are opposed to majorities. Ten per cent of the voters initiate a number of radical measures. They are submitted to a referendum at the next election, and a plurality of the votes cast makes them laws or inserts them in the Constitution. In the history of these referendums the vote has averaged about twenty per cent of the total vote at any election. The measures have been adopted by the petitioners who constitute one-half, and many times more than one-half of those voting carrying the day because the majority of the electorate have not cast their ballots. When it is proposed that no law by referendum shall become a law and no amendment shall be attached to the Constitution unless it receives a majority of all the votes cast at the election when it is submitted, without exception the reformer cries "No," reforms must be carried not by the unintelligent mass, but by the few who understand the needs of the people.

I believe in trade unions and trade organizations. In the railway world, I have been their best friend, but there is a new movement now progressing all over the world and forging to the front with us with lurid exhibitions of its power. As a student all my life of every idea which has captured any considerable number of people, whether upon religious, or social, or industrial, or economic questions, I bought the book which gives the most authoritative and

vigorous exhibition of Syndicalism by one of its ablest and most eloquent writers. It is very interesting, though not yet very alarming, except in its fierce and bloody riots to compel other unions to join. He says, "We have in the United States today nearly five hundred thousand organized fighting soldiers. In the whole world we have seven millions. We are comrades with a common purpose. The cry of our army is 'No Quarter.' We want all you possess. We will be content with nothing less than all you possess. Here are our hands. They are strong hands. The able-bodied workers would not have to labor more than two or three hours every day to feed everybody, clothe everybody, house everybody and give fair measure of little luxuries to everybody." Then he goes on to say, "When all these things are accomplished, then all the world will be impelled to action—scientists formulating law, inventors employing law, artists and sculptors painting canvases and shaping clay, poets and statesmen serving humanity by singing and by statecraft. Our intention is to destroy present-day society as a fact, and also to take possession of the world with all its wealth and machinery and government."

Here are a few of the bunkers over which this army must successfully propel its bomb: There are about eight millions of people, men and women, in this country who own their own homes and will fight to retain them. There are over four millions who own their own farms, other millions who get their living from farms and none are so tenacious of their rights as the farmers. There are about eleven millions who are engaged in various industries in a way that interests them to a point where they will not tamely surrender their rights in raising stock, or as florists, or horticulturists, or nurserymen. There are

the millions of small shopkeepers everywhere whose living and the future for their families are in the goods in their stores. Our eyes are so blinded by the increase in the capitalization of great corporations like the steel or tobacco or sugar that we lose sight of the fact that there never were so many small manufacturers with limited capital, employing few men, among whom the proprietors are the hardest workers, scattered all over the United States. The foundations of our society are deep in the selfish interests, in the ambitions, in the hopes and in the affections for their offspring of ninety-nine per cent of our people. Beside all that is the national conscience with an irradicable sense of right and wrong, based upon respect for the property and lives and liberties of others, for which every church, every common school, every agency of education and instruction, every fraternal lodge, is a recruiting station.

Now the crux of that idea is that when this millennium has been brought around nobody will have to work over two hours in twenty-four. During the rest of the day everybody will be happy because industrially occupying their time in creating, or making, or producing things which are useful and helpful to their fellows. A distinguished philosopher has said that the mainsprings of action are ambition, necessity and greed. It may be growing out of what happened in the Garden of Eden that effort requires a spur. Everyone of us knows that in our own experience. There is not one at this table here tonight who would be what he is unless there had been a motive to accomplish something for himself. There is no truth more self-evident than that this selfishness has in it also the elements of patriotism. The man who forges ahead and in his advance

creates continually larger opportunities for others to get on is selfishly a climber and unselfishly a philanthropist. The curse of the youth of our country is idleness. Our hooligans, our gang men, our gun men, our young criminals are all the products of idleness. The ambition of the boy at school is aroused first by competition with his fellows. As he advances to the high school or the college it is for the honors which can be achieved. I look back over sixty years of continuous effort and when I try to differentiate the causes of my health and happiness I come back always to work. I never yet knew an idle man who was a happy one. I mean an idle man who was such from choice. Every man I ever knew who was doing the best he could in the line of his talent and equipment and who became fond of his work, and who outside of his regular occupation had some fad which interested him, and who could on occasion play as hard as he worked, was healthy and happy himself and radiated happiness and inspiration to everyone about him.

We are all workingmen, but I have known thousands of what are known as laboring men; that is, those who earn a living by the work of their hands, who in their little gardens found repose and recreation, who in their church, or in their lodges, or in their social work, discovered never-ending sources of education in broad-mindedness, in higher ideals of citizenship and material, spiritual and intellectual advancement.

It is an old charge that Republics are ungrateful. Perhaps that is a mistake and they are only forgetful. I recall on this question three of my late colleagues in the Senate who were among its most distinguished and useful members and are now in private life.

When the case for the expulsion of Senator Lorimer of Illinois was tried before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, a large majority of the Committee, though they knew that the newspapers generally demanded Mr. Lorimer's expulsion, and such was the sentiment of a majority of the people, yet acting as judges they could not find in the testimony sufficient warrant for a verdict against him.

Senator Beveridge, one of the most brilliant Senators of his term in the Senate, made a minority report and led the fight against Lorimer. He had often before proved himself to be an accomplished and brilliant debater, but he never was so able, resourceful and eloquent as in this battle. It was on the eve of his fight for a re-election to the Senate, and he and his friends felt that his reward was certain. He made one of the most thorough and able canvasses of Indiana that any candidate ever did, and yet he was beaten.

One of the most useful and able Senators in my time was Norris Brown of Nebraska. Mr. Brown believed that nine-tenths of the people of his State were in favor of a constitutional amendment for an income tax. He introduced the amendment and gave his time, energy and remarkable diplomacy to secure its passage. I am quite certain from my own familiarity with the course of that legislation that, except for Mr. Brown's advocacy and support, the amendment would not have passed the Senate. When he came before his people for the approval of his course, he was beaten.

My captivating friend, Jonathan Bourne of Oregon, was the author of most of the so-called reforms which have substituted the initiative, the referendum and the recall in Oregon for representative government and made the Governor and the Legis-

lature rubber stamps. In season and out of season, in the Senate and on the platform, and in the press, he portrayed the merits of this return to a pure democracy and this recovery by the people from an obsolete system of their full rights. It is said that the placing of one of his greatest speeches on this question in the hands of every voter in the newly admitted State of Arizona led to the adoption of the most radical Constitution ever known. We all thought that whatever might happen to the rest of us, the call for re-election of Jonathan Bourne was to come with a unanimity never known before by a grateful people. Yet he was beaten.

It is an interesting study in politics whether people are ungrateful, which I do not believe, or forgetful, which may happen, or whether their Tribune is not sometimes mistaken in thinking that he knows just what they want.

It has been the fashion in all ages for elderly people to lament the good old times and long for their recall. I do not share in any way in this desire. Solomon repudiated it, but then Solomon had more things than all his predecessors put together, including the family, and notwithstanding his hundreds of wives and thousands of concubines seems to have been very happy in his domestic relations. George Washington, on the other hand, thought the times as they were in the few years preceding his death were far worse than in earlier days and that they gave little hope for the future. As I look back over fifty-seven years of intense activity in many departments of life, of a full share of both successes and failures, of hard knocks and compensating triumphs, of sorrows and joys, I come to the conclusion that while one year may be very bad, very miserable and very hopeless, yet take time by decades every

ten years as a whole is infinitely better than all the preceding ones.

Still, there are some things which seem to be permanently lost, and are to be greatly regretted, for the enjoyment of life. One of them is conversation. The most charming volumes in history are made up of the conversation of agreeable talkers, but it is a general complaint that now conversation is a lost art. Some say it is because bridge whist has so shortened the dinner as to make it a feed instead of a function, and the craze for gambling in bridge whist has destroyed the freedom from care and elasticity of mind which are necessary for the interchange of thought, of humor, of anecdote, of argument and of raillery. We ought to be grateful, therefore, to anyone who can help in the restoration of that most charming, I almost say indispensable medium for the enjoyment of friends and acquaintances—conversation.

President Wilson is happily contributing to this end. He is advocating in a series of brilliantly written magazine articles what he calls "The New Freedom." There is intense curiosity to know what the New Freedom means. This century and a quarter of unexampled and unparalleled growth and prosperity under our Constitution and laws has given us the freedom so gloriously expressed in the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence was a philosophic statement of liberty, but the Constitution of the United States crystallized it into law. Jefferson's idea of liberty was that governments are based upon the individual, and that he must have the largest freedom with the fewest possible restrictions and the least possible legislation.

President Wilson now has an opportunity of which he must avail himself of putting into law his "New

Freedom." We are told by the press, always so argus-eyed and so truthful, that at a conference at the White House a few days since the President agreed with the Chairmen of the Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives which have charge of appropriation bills that the one now passing should have on it a rider exempting labor unions and farmers' associations from the restrictions and penalties of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They get a liberty which no one else enjoys and become a privileged class. Now this is practical. It is a New Freedom. The first restraint ever put since the adoption of our Constitution in 1787 upon the activities of the individual when acting in great combinations was by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Under prosecutions commenced by Cleveland, and continued by McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, these combinations have been relentlessly pursued because violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Some of them have been put out of business and many of them have been dissolved. Decisions have been rendered in these cases which bring every great combination within the restrictions of this law. Now a New Freedom is to be given by legislation to labor unions to do as they please and farmers to form associations and combinations for the marketing of their products. There is no suggestion that those who are engaged in iron or steel or tobacco or oil, in hats, shoes or clothing, or printing or anything else shall be relieved from the beneficent restrictions of the Sherman Acts in which I think most of us heartily believe. But labor unions and farmers can club together, and by the processes which are so successful, in protection Germany called cartels; in free trade England called combinations and in protection America called trusts, can have the one in doing

what it likes and the other in raising the price of bread and meat all the advantages of the freedom which everybody had before the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Now this practical demonstration of the new freedom has led to more conversation everywhere than anything which has occurred for many years. It is an enlightening, illuminating and instructing conversation. It raises that one topic of intense interest at all times where everybody is affected: "Who will next receive the New Freedom?"

Vice-President Marshall is a charming gentleman and a delightful speaker. I have heard him on many subjects, upon which he talks so well, and none better than upon brotherhood in Masonry, he and I being both brethren of the Thirty-third Degree. Two weeks ago to-night he attended the Jeffersonian banquet in New York. He there delivered an address which was as novel as it was original. He claimed that the inheritance of property from one's parents is not a natural or a constitutional right, but purely a privilege granted by statute, and so to prevent accumulations of property all that the Legislature has to do is to repeal the laws of inheritance, and then whatever a person acquires will go not to his natural heirs, but to the State. Of course, if such a law was passed there would be no accumulations afterwards, because the main incentive for saving money is to take care of those who are dependent upon us—in other words, our wives and children. There would be people so masterful and with such genius in that line that they could not help making money. If they were not to have the pride and joy and comfort of its enjoyment in the benefits it would give after their death, they would squander it. The first line in which a man begins to squander money is self-indulgence; drunkenness

would become the attendant of prosperity, and the prohibition States, which are now doing fairly well in restricting the consumption of liquor, would discover that their laws were universally nullified. The new view of life would be "let us eat, drink, and be merry for to-morrow we die."

This speech was delivered on Saturday night two weeks ago and published in the Sunday morning papers. It made conversation all over the United States. When I came out of church and met the people of all the other churches, I was stopped dozens of times, not to talk about the sermons which had been heard, but to discuss the speech of Vice-President Marshall. I lunched with some friends and dined with others that day, and both functions were prolonged far beyond the usual time by an animated discussion of Brother Marshall's deliverance. If Eugene Debs had said this, it would have passed unnoticed, because expected. It is the unexpected which inspires conversation. So from the new Vice-President of the United States it became a matter of interesting talk in every gathering, private or public.

Well, these things have helped in bringing into activity again the almost lost art of conversation. Still, these subjects are not so fine as those which prevailed in the good old times. We used to long for a new novel by Dickens or Thackeray, and talk over the old ones until the new ones came, and then the new ones until others were published, until David Copperfield, Micawber, Captain Cuttle, Jack Bunsby, Dora, Becky Sharp, and Colonel Newcome were intimate members of our families. They inspired and irradiated the home. We eagerly discussed Hawthorne's latest novels, and what Whittier, Lowell, Emerson and Doctor Parker, Doctor Storrs

or Henry Ward Beecher had contributed to the wisdom and enjoyment of the world. John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer had their audiences and their admirers, and the Shakespeare and Browning societies found opportunities in every hamlet in the country. I am at a loss to know why there are no writers of equivalent reputation and equivalent consideration contributing now to the cordiality and camaraderie of us all, or why we carry the shop everywhere, and talk of either what we want or what we have or what the other fellow possesses and how he got it. It is very depressing.

But, my friends, I do not despair. On my doctrine of decades I isolate this ten years. I avoid calamity howlers. I expel from my reading desk and my mind the preachers of disorder or destruction or despair. I place my trust, my hope, my optimism in that fine, discriminating, cordial, loving association of the people with each other and of their trust in and courage for the rights and the liberties of all.

## Speech at the Annual Dinner of the University Club, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1911.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

As a university man, to-night seems to me something like the gala day in the Coliseum at Rome. If you can imagine this room to be the Coliseum, and the President of the United States as the Emperor in his box, then Carter and I, and other Senators and Members of Congress, who are in the same situation, pass before him like the gladiators of old saluting with the cry, "Nos morituri te salutamus" —"We who are about to die salute you." I only turn the Latin into English because most of you have been out of college more than ten years.

Senator Carter and I are among the number of the elect and the saints for whom this is the last week on the political planet. On Saturday we expire. The catastrophe suggests both sorrow and hilarity—sorrow for what we lose and hilarity for what we escape. The angel of political death appears in the Senate in these days in sundry disguises. At one time he takes the form of the amendment to the Constitution for the direct election of Senators; at another the resolution relating to the seat of Mr. Lorimer; at another the Canadian reciprocity. He remarks on each of these propositions to those who are still in the ring, "Whichever way you vote you are mine." A committee of farmers representing the granges and agricultural societies of the State of New York called upon me and said, "If you vote for this Canadian treaty you need never expect any political favor which the united

farmers of the State of New York can prevent your receiving, but if you vote against it you have our united support for the rest of your life." Then a representative of the newspaper publishers came in. He said, "If you don't vote for this treaty, by editorial denunciation, paragraphical sniping and repertorial misrepresentation, we will make your life a burden and retire you to permanent oblivion." "Well," I said, "suppose I do vote for it. What will you do then?" The representative said, "Then we will never mention you."

The Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives has a collection of poetry for the use of Members delivering memorial addresses on deceased Members. One used the other day, I fear, might represent the tears over retiring statesmen: "Here lies the body of my dear wife. My scalding tears cannot bring her to life. Therefore, I weep."

How happy was the condition of the representative of the people in the good old days. On the questions prevailing in that period there were no divisions within the party, no questions upon which the Senator or the Member could not follow the leader with safety and devotion, while in these days party lines are becoming so indistinct that the electorate which gives rousing majorities one year for one side gives equally rousing majorities the next year for the other side. But the university man has a satisfaction which cannot be enjoyed by any outside the order. Parties may come and parties may go; the political question of to-day may seem vital for the republic, and be forgotten to-morrow; but as time goes on and age mellows, aspiration and enthusiasm for other things fade and become nebulous, but the old campus, the old buildings, the old fence,

the old professors, the old associations grow fresher, more beautiful, more satisfactory with the years.

We are happy in having with us here to-night one of the men who constitute that enormous aggregation of men called "New Yorkers." They come from every state in the Union to our city to take their chances where failure is hopeless but rewards are great. The one who succeeds in his profession, his business, his calling of any kind, in this great town, is preëminently the survival of the fittest and equivalent to a New Yorker by birth. So this young Texan Martin Littleton, coming unknown and unheralded to the metropolis, speedily won a rare position in the forefront of a crowded profession, and then, turning to politics, reversed the time-honored majority in the district in which resides ex-President Roosevelt. And yet, before he has taken his seat in the Lower House, he confidently announces his candidacy for the Senate. We are students of the classics and we love those acts of heroism of the ancient times which have been the inspiration of all the ages. The three hundred at Thermopylæ, Curtius jumping into the pit to save his country, Horatius holding the bridge, are familiar examples. So, when the Democratic Party, torn asunder by faction and threatened with annihilation by internal strife, seemed on the eve of destruction, friend Littleton heroically and unselfishly sent word to the leaders in the Legislature at Albany, "I will make the sacrifice. Take me for Senator." Certainly I should feel highly honored to have my brilliant young friend as my successor.

An incident, both picturesque and interesting, which took place a few days ago in this senatorial contest at Albany happily and favorably illustrates the honor of men in public life. Muckraking maga-

zines, yellow journals and Chautauqua lecturers have been for years preaching to the people that the public life of the United States is the most decadent that exists anywhere in the world. They have succeeded in producing a widespread distrust of the representatives of the people, both in State Legislatures and in Congress. It is a distrust so deep-seated that I doubt if it is ever removed. Everyone who knows anything about progress in legislation knows the enormous improvement which has taken place both in the personnel of representatives and in the work which they have performed since the Civil War. The lobby which used to fill the halls of Congress has now practically disappeared. In the New York Legislature the Democrats have a large majority on joint ballot. They are responsible for the order of business. They placed upon the record a rule that no pairs should be recognized unless they were recorded with the clerk. It so happened that a week ago when the roll was called in the joint Assembly for the election of United States Senator it was discovered that there were so many Democratic absentees that the Republicans had a clean majority. The majority leader claimed that the absentees were paired individually and without his knowledge and asked that those pairs be recognized. He was informed that under his own rule, which had been adopted, those pairs were illegal. He admitted that they were illegal, but begged the minority to recognize the pairs, which were made individually without notice and in violation of the rule, as a gentleman's agreement. Here is an interesting question of ethics. If a legislator makes a private agreement to violate a standing rule of the legislative body to which he belongs and for which he voted, is that violation an agreement of a gentleman?

Though the minority had it absolutely in their power to elect a Senator and might have demanded that the game should be played according to the rules, they decided that, notwithstanding rules and orders, the gentleman's agreement should be recognized. I do not believe that business men, having the legal right, would have yielded under such conditions. I know that no lawyer responsible for the interests of his clients would have permitted his opponent to gain such an advantage. And I state this only to show that in public life and among public men there is the very highest and most sensitive honor. As I have been the candidate of the minority and receiving their united votes since the balloting began, I would have been the recipient of this remarkable happening, but I rejoice exceedingly that my friends did not take the advantage which was legally in their power. The people had elected a Legislature which was Democratic by a large majority, and they had the right to expect a Democratic Senator.

Washington has changed marvelously since I first came here twelve years ago. It is filling up with the palaces of the men who have made fortunes all over the world in ventures of vast magnitude. These palaces are going up in all the great cities of the country. Nine-tenths of their owners boast that they are self-made men and sneer at the products of the colleges and universities. In an active life of fifty-five years with opportunities to meet more people than almost any man alive, and know something of their careers, I have come to the conclusion that it is only the few who are exceptionally gifted who can excel those who have had the benefits of a liberal education. No one except those who have been privileged to enjoy them can appreciate the in-

finite pleasures there are in the advantages which the old institutions give. I remember one wonderful man whose learning was limited to the three R's, but who had a world-wide reputation for success, who would have given a large part of his vast fortune if he could have enjoyed a college training. But I knew another, and I can see his shiny, bald head now, who was always speaking contemptuously of the men of the schools. One day he said to an eminent professor of physiology, "What has all your education done for you, sir? See where I am and what I have, and I am a self-made man." "Well," said the professor, "while you were making yourself why didn't you put some hair on your head?" I remember another who angered a famous painter with the same remark, and received this retort, "I wish you would let me paint on the top of your head the picture of a rabbit." "Why a rabbit," said the astonished millionaire. "Because," said the artist "somebody might mistake it for a hare."

Every American boy starts with a quick mind. Afterward it is a matter of development. I heard this story the last time I was in New Haven. When the British Ambassador was delivering his very able addresses to the university he had a discussion on the street one day with President Hadley as to the brightness of the street boy in London and America. President Hadley said, "Let's test it with this newsie." The President said, "Boy, can you tell us what time it is by your nose?" to which the boy answered, "My nose isn't running this morning."

Nothing impresses me more than the evolution of American democracy. We started with very little power in the executive and all power in Congress, when all the rest of the world were under autocratic governments of the kings, and we were afraid of the

king. In the development of a century and a quarter all the rest of the world, especially England and France, have come to the absolute supremacy of the legislative branch and the retirement of the executive, while we have evoluted the other way. So, at that early period our English and Scotch ancestors believed in three and four hour sermons in the pulpit and whole-night speeches in Parliament. Now, in the condensation on the other side the leading authorities of the Church of England propose to condense the Ten Commandments. They take the longest one which states what you shall not covet, and, eliminating everything else, leave only "Thou shalt not covet." If this rule could be applied to the United States Senate its business would be finished and its sessions ended in three months. As it is now, we have statesmen whose great ambition is to have their posterity point to the Congressional Record and say, "My father filled more pages of that wonderful publication than any man of his time." It would be an enormous benefit to many a man and a tremendous relief to the world if such a one was only gifted with the feminine instinct of propriety, an instinct which never fails, which is always correct, though in the matter of personal adornment very expensive. In the recent excavations which have been made on the site of ancient Babylon they have come across, in the library of Nebuchadnezzar, where the books were stenciled on clay and baked, the Babylonian story of the Garden of Eden. And this publication proves, that when man and woman first appeared upon earth, she had this instinct of propriety for herself as well as for man. This story says that after the accident of the apple, when Eve retired and wove a dress for him and herself of the leaves

in the Garden, that Adam put his around his neck and she exclaimed, "Great Heaven, Adam, that is not the place to wear it!"

It has been my privilege to serve under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. McKinley had spent twenty years in Congress and he looked to the Senators and Members exclusively for guidance, advice and help. Roosevelt had a genius for gauging the popular current beyond any of our public men. He had invisible wires which reached every part of the country and every department of industry, and through them he gathered, long in advance, the trend of public opinion, and then, with fife and drum, and cymbal and horn, became its leader and carried its purposes into effect. In these troublous times there is fluidity of parties, and more than ever before in the history of the country great corporations and great aggregations of wealth on the one side and agitation and unrest on the other, are creating most critical and dangerous situations. It is a period that calls for patience, for high courage, for judicial fairness and for those rare and indefinable qualities which command the confidence of the people. Nowhere in such a crisis could the combination of culture and experience be found equal to the task except in the product of our American universities. Happily for the country and happily for the people, one of the finest fruits of liberal culture, one of the best results of the college, a man who has carried the spirit of his Alma Mater into every function of life and every office that he has held, is our President, William H. Taft.

## Speech at the Dinner given by the Republican Club of New York to Senator Depew upon his Retirement from U. S. Senate, April 7, 1911.

*My Friends:*

When a man enters upon a great office he has doubts; when he retires he still has doubts; but if his neighbors, among whom he has lived and who have known him always, gather to greet, to welcome, to honor and to congratulate, all doubts are removed. Any one properly constituted regards the consummation of a successful life to be happiness. Happiness is not an accident nor purely a question of temperament and environment, nor can it be secured by cultivation. It is a gift, both from within and without; from without, in unselfish friendship; from within, in appreciation and gratitude.

There is a vast difference between going out with your party or being beaten within your party. For a Republican to be stepped on by the elephant is death, but to be kicked by the Democratic donkey means only a period in the hospital.

The saying that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country" may have been true in earlier days, but is not applicable to our times.

Under our system of government, which, unlike the English, confines a representative to his home district or state, no one can secure and hold public office unless he is held in honor in his own country. If strong at home, if holding continuously the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, storms of detraction, or hatred, or enmity from other states, are powerless to disturb him.

I have just closed twelve years in the United States Senate, very eventful ones in legislation and very happy ones to me. When Tennyson sang "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" he did not possess American experience. In the fifty years since 1861 we have passed through a crisis involving the existence of the country or its whole future every decade. The civil war for the preservation of the Union, reconstruction for the permanent peace and perpetuity of the Union, the defeat of fiat money, the resumption of specie payments, the silver craze, the establishment of the gold standard and the experiment with colonial government were all crises full of peril, full of history and of grave consequences to the republic. I have experienced all there was to feel by an active participation in each of those troublous periods.

It has been to me one supreme lesson in the absolute indestructibility of our institutions and liberties. Every citizen passes through a period of seeing in the immediate future the destruction of his country. But while believing this prophecy, if you have seen several times the period set for the cataclysm pass by and nothing happen, predictions of evil cease to disturb your peace of mind. I have a letter of my great-grandfather's, written during Jefferson's administration. He was a judge and a Federalist. This letter to his son-in-law, a distinguished lawyer of the same faith, says: "With Jefferson as President, an infidel in religion and a French revolutionist in politics, I see, perhaps not in my time, but in yours, the end of religion and liberty in these United States." Several generations have come and gone since the old gentleman left to his children this grewsome legacy. Each generation has found the country enjoying larger liberties, greater power and

prosperity and opportunities for all undreamed of by their predecessors.

There will be crises in the future, occurring probably every decade, perils from the clashing of labor and capital, perils from the growth of socialistic sentiment, perils of the dangers to all property in the effort to control great corporations and wealth without checking progress and employment, perils from the mob spirit and perils from autocracy.

England, handicapped, as we protectionists think, by free trade, is trying to keep as much as possible of her former position as the workshop of the world by encouraging industrial combinations. This is done to reduce the cost of production. The German states, as in the famous potash case, are themselves interested in various industries. They form close syndicates with their competitors in the same line of business to maintain prices at home and utilize their government-owned railroads and subsidized mercantile marine to so lower charges for transportation as to command foreign markets. Our legislation forbids all combinations, the good as well as the bad, and our task, as we extend our commerce, is to adjust our conditions for competition with other nations.

We as yet have not fully grasped our position as a world power and the duties it imposes, nor have we arrived at a settled policy which is demanded by foreign governments under the responsibilities assumed in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine. Judging the future by the past, the pendulum will probably swing our way until the common sense of the people checks its dangerous progress, and then politicians, with ears to the ground catching the changing sentiment, will eagerly lead in the opposite direction. So, if we who are here to-night are per-

mitted to visit these scenes a hundred years from now, we will find conditions bettered, opportunities larger and greater marvels brought about by inventions, and the game of politics played possibly with the same cards and with similar results to those which have characterized our period. Between political crises and political stagnation, it is better for the public good that the storm should rage and some temporary damage be done, for a wreck here and there upon the shore is nothing to the life-giving gale which lashes the ocean into fury and sends the beneficent rainclouds over the earth and clarifies sea and air of impurities.

In rendering an account of stewardship a catalogue would be wearisome, but I rejoice in many things in which I was permitted to participate, and for which I had opportunity to render such assistance as was in my power. The carrying into effect of the gold standard and the establishment upon a firm basis of national and individual credit was one of the achievements of my period.

Before the conservation of natural resources had become a question of any importance, as chairman of the committee having charge of such matters in my earlier years, I became convinced of the necessity of turning the Appalachian range into a national forest. The eight states through which the range runs could do nothing individually. The cutting off of the trees led to the washing away of the undergrowth and humus which held the rainfall and distributed it beneficially through the valleys. The floods which followed the loss of the forests destroyed annually twenty million acres of fertile land. The tragedy of the destruction of twenty million acres a year, with all their possibilities for settlement and happy homesteads, was be-

yond language to describe. I prepared a bill and passed it through the Senate. It took ten years of continuous effort to get it through the House of Representatives, but in this last session, including also the White Mountains, it became a law. The inclusion of the White Mountains was due to the efforts of Senator Brandegee of Connecticut.

Reform by legislation is always slow and tedious and requires continuous and persistent effort to succeed. The government had never yielded to a law which would make it liable to those engaged in its service in dangerous employments for similar compensation for death and injury to those which were universal in industrial pursuits. For years that bill had appeared and annually been buried. President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Taft placed it in my hands, and in the last hours of the closing session of the Sixty-first Congress I succeeded in passing it and sending it to the President. I am prouder of that than of many measures of country-wide interest in whose perfection I participated.

The Senate is a comparatively small body with a membership which runs for six years, and with reelection for another six. Associations and intimacies permit a member to secure for his state things of importance which a young member can never gain. I was assigned immediately upon entering to the great committee on commerce. This committee passes upon all measures relating to the rivers and harbors of the country and the improvements of the waterways. I became deeply impressed with the scheme which that eminent senator, Senator Frye had prepared for Ambrose channel. I joined with Senator Frye to make this project a success. None of us dreamed at that time that mercantile marine

engineering would produce leviathans of 50,000 tons, and yet with a foresight which was more of hope than of intelligence, we carried to perfection a channel into the docks of the port of New York of sufficient width and depth to accommodate and secure for our harbor those marvelous carriers of the sea.

The barge canal comes to the Hudson River twelve miles above the improvement which permits the floating of its larger craft. Last year near the close of the session the engineers and a citizens' committee came to me with the statement that unless the government at an expense of between six and seven millions of dollars improved that twelve miles the barge canal was a failure—it ended nowhere.

Senators are clamoring for appropriations for every river and creek in the country. When most of the states are jealous of New York, to secure an appropriation of this kind in the last stages of a session or at any other stage is purely a matter of personal relations with senators. I pleaded for, and secured, the preliminary appropriation from my associates, more than upon its merits, on the statement that it was absolutely essential for my reelection. There again comes in the personal equation, for as a rule brother senators will do much to retain among them one of their number.

In the same way, when every city, village and hamlet in the country was howling for public buildings and lifting the dome of the capitol with the cry that New York had been petted and fed at their expense, I secured the two uptown postoffices which are to cost between three and four millions each.

And in the same way and for the same reasons

and by the same pleas, though the Secretary of the Navy might cry economy and financiers protest, I secured for the Brooklyn navy-yard one of the new, mighty dreadnoughts, giving employment in that yard to over 4,000 men, supporting 4,000 families for the next two years. And of the $24,000,000 which have been appropriated for the harbors and lake coasts of our state during my term, I venture to say that much of it has come because of my continuance on the committee through which those appropriations must pass.

During my twelve years we have nearly settled the railway question and taken it out of politics by the Roosevelt railway rate bill, the Elkins anti-rebate bill, and the Taft railroad bill of the last session. I believe that when the results of this legislation are worked out from their present crudities, and there always will be crudities in the beginning of new administrations, that there will come greater benefits to the public and more security to railway investors and efficiency of railway management.

Notwithstanding the opposition of our savings banks, which I thought unwise, I did my best for the postal savings banks law, believing it to be the best for the country and that it would keep here the $100,000,000 a year now sent abroad by our foreign population because they do not trust our banks.

I have always supported the merchant marine subsidy, and regret that it did not become a law and that our people are now giving $200,000,000 a year for freight to foreign shipping, and that American ships are not the carriers of American trade all over the world. American ships with American officers would be active agents for the extension of our markets while foreigners are necessarily hostile. We

are the second naval power, and yet the other great naval powers look upon us as of little account because in time of war we have no mercantile marine for auxiliary cruisers, or colliers for our fighting machines and they cannot stay two weeks away from shore.

Owing to abundant experience from annual visits abroad for many years, I became convinced that there is a necessity for housing our diplomats, as other nations do, in the capitals of other countries. I early commenced advocating this, and regard it as a happy result for the dignity and prestige of the United States that a beginning was made in this Congress by an appropriation for this purpose.

As chairman of the committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, there came to me most interesting experiences in the efforts to solve the serious problem presented by governing the Philippine islands, Hawaii and Porto Rico. Many minds have been at work and many men continually laboring to solve these problems. It is a source of congratulation that peace and prosperity in the Philippine islands and in Hawaii and in Porto Rico are demonstrations of the wisdom which has created out of no experience of our own a beneficent colonial policy for our dependencies.

It is a tribute to the seat which I have occupied for the last twelve years that the Democratic party, with 32 majority in the legislature, was unable by its utmost efforts, though working day and night for 74 days, to fill it until the Republican minority gave them help. A seat in the United States Senate is worthy of any man's ambition.

"Why the Senate?" asked a French critic of Thomas Jefferson at the time of the French revolution.

"Because," said the great statesman and author of the Declaration of Independence, "it is like the saucer to the tea cup; when the tea is too hot to drink with safety, it can be cooled off in the saucer."

The Senate has been called the Millionaires' Club, and yet with its ninety-two members a majority have not a competence outside of their salary, and not over ten per cent have reached the millionaire mark. Seven senators died recently. One started as a poor boy, and in developing the mineral resources of his own state became a millionaire, but the joint assets of the other six did not amount to $200,000, and three left practically nothing. This is a fair average of the financial condition of the Senate.

There are several kinds of senators. The most valuable are those who seldom appear in the "Record," but work night and day in the committee rooms and on the floor in the perfecting of good measures and in defeating bad ones, and those who "Think that day lost whose low descending sun views from thy hand no noble action done," the noble action being some more or less interesting remarks in the next morning's "Congressional Record."

There has been much criticism both at home and abroad upon the unlimited debate permitted in the Senate. During the sixty-first Congress, which has just closed, there were 43,921 bills introduced and only 810 became laws. I believe in the Jeffersonian doctrine of the least possible legislation, and I think that is in accord with the best sentiment of the country. Many and many of them died because unlimited debate left no time for consideration.

During my twelve years' experience I know of no measure of importance which has failed because the Senate has no rules to limit debate, no closure, no

previous question. If a measure is worthy, means are found before it is lost to bring a minority to consent to its passage. After twelve years of experience and much study and thought, I believe it would be unfortunate to change the custom of the Senate.

There have been several filibusters in the Senate in my time where a small minority endeavored to defeat, by using up the time between the commencement of debate and final adjournment, already agreed to by both Houses, some measure desired by a large majority. Physical exhaustion counts continually against a filibuster. But more than that, no man has sensations so numb and feelings so dead and sensibilities so far lost as to withstand for any lengthened period the ill-concealed anger and contempt, and ultimately disgust, of his associates.

A senator engaged in a filibuster is an interesting mental and psychological study. I have rarely heard one who could go along for more than two hours without returning to the beginning and traversing the same ground, and after doing this several times he goes back and over the ground in practically the same language, like a cat pursuing its own tail. That speech never appears in the "Record" until several weeks afterward, and then is edited to the limit, so the world never gathers its inanities, its banalities and its repetitions.

The Senate stands by its traditions. One hundred years ago every man over sixty took snuff. Because of this custom, snuffboxes were placed on the Democratic and Whig, and then the Democratic and Republican, sides. These snuffboxes are still filled every morning. The snuff has been unused for years, but not long since some quack started the idea, during a recent attack of influenza, that snuff would cure it. If the influenza keeps up, the habit

may return and with it the old red bandana to conceal the enormities of the practice.

The most confirmed result in my fifty-four years of public and semi-public life is a belief in party organization. It has its evils, as everything human does, but they can always be cured or they cure themselves. I believe that good legislation and progressive legislation come from there being in the country two great political parties, nearly evenly divided, so evenly that the mistakes of one lead to the triumph of the other. I tried insurgency early in life and got over it immediately. It was when I went off with other Republicans in support of Greeley. So our friends who so blithely claim that insurgency is a brand new invention of their own are practicing something which is very, very old.

An insurgent becomes regular when he and his friends secure a majority. The planet Saturn had eight satellites, and astronomers tell us that the rings of Saturn are kept in place by the regular and methodical movement of these satellites around the planet in one direction. But every once in a while astronomers for hundreds of years have noticed a disturbance of the rings which they were unable to explain. The enormous telescope provided by Mr. Carnegie has penetrated this mystery. It has found that there is a ninth satellite which moves in and out among the others, but in the opposite direction, always producing a disturbance and threatening a dangerous collision. They cannot find that it contributes anything but trouble to the stability of Saturn's place in the heavenly universe.

The astronomers here named this insurgent in the planetary system Phoebe. We will always have Phoebes, contrarily minded, moving in the opposite direction and colliding with the majority, but in the

general economy of our political system they sometimes produce a healthy shaking up.

Another fundamental among political principles which experience has confirmed is representative government. There is no doubt that an enthusiastic and able propaganda against representative government by appealing to the sentiment called the people's will has made great progress. There is no doubt that it has discredited state legislatures and Congress. It has led in many states to the initiative, the referendum and the recall. It claims, in its extreme phase, that government can only be popular when the actual meeting of the mob takes the place of the deliberations of the legislative body and decisions of the courts.

The man who acts as his own lawyer loses his property; as his own doctor, loses his life; as his own architect, lives in an unsanitary building; as his own engineer, drives over a bridge which falls into the stream. As life grows more intense in its demands upon people in every department of work, they must concentrate their minds on their industry if they would succeed in their chosen pursuit. The people know that with these conditions, and with the greatest intelligence among the masses, to provide measures of government and principles of justice is absolutely impossible.

They can select men, their neighbors, those who are willing to serve and who are able to do this work for them, and then judge of the capability and the intelligence of their representatives, as they do of the work of their engineer and their lawyer and their doctor, by results. It is to the credit of our institutions that while every other country has changed in its fundamentals, we live after one hundred and twenty-five years under the same constitution, prac-

tically unchanged and with a liberty and prosperity and promise for the future which are magnificent testimonies to the wisdom of the fathers.

It was my privilege as Secretary of the State of New York at the time to be brought in close relations with President Lincoln and his cabinet and the leading members of Congress, and I have known with more or less intimacy every President and nearly every public man of national reputation since. I became a senator under McKinley and have served under Roosevelt and Taft. McKinley had passed his life in the House of Representatives. He had the profoundest reverence for the legislative branch. He never introduced by message or otherwise any of the great measures of his administration without long and frequent consultation with senators and congressmen. I was consulted in regard to all of them in their preparation and presentation, and afterward in advocating them upon the floor, and this was the experience, I think, of most of his own party and of the opposition. This gave McKinley a hold upon Congress which few, if any, of his predecessors had ever possessed.

I can say that as a senator from his own state I had exceptionally pleasant relations with President Roosevelt.

I believe that one of the most misunderstood of our Presidents is President Taft. His life has been judicial and never one of political strife, and so he looks upon questions as a judge, and not from the viewpoint of a politician as all men brought up in political life must. It never occurs to him what may be the effect of a measure upon his own political fortunes. I believe that as President Taft's measures are better understood, his unselfish patriotism and devotion to the public service better known

among the people, that he will grow in popular favor, so that when the national Republican convention meets in 1912 there will be but one name before it, that of William Howard Taft.

I highly appreciate the presence here to-night of that distinguished citizen of our State, the Vice-President of the United States. After twenty-two years of most useful service in the House of Representatives, his elevation to the second place in our government was a merited promotion. I have studied many presiding officers of the Senate. As that body has few rules and resents any check, the duties of the Chair are difficult and delicate to a degree. But, with his large experience, his intimate knowledge of parliamentary law and Senate precedents, his wonderful tact and uniform good nature, Vice-President James S. Sherman makes one of the best, if not the best, presiding officer the Senate ever had.

And now, my friends, we are all New Yorkers. Next to his country, a man's allegiance and pride should be to his state. My ancestor got his farm from the Indians before Governor Dongan, and those who came after have largely remained by the old fireside. The great men who have adorned our history from the time of Hamilton and Jay are the inspirations of succeeding generations of New York youth. Thurlow Weed, who was for thirty years the dominant political factor in the political life of our state, was my preceptor in practical politics, while William H. Seward, whom I knew intimately and loved ardently, was my teacher in political principles.

Our glorious old commonwealth is foremost of all our sister states in all that constitutes a great empire. I have always felt, both in the Senate and

out, that in working for the state, which, with its unequalled harbor, its lake ports, its great canal, its mighty metropolis, which is the financial and commercial center of the United States, I was doing the best service possible for my country.

## Speech at the Dinner given to the Ex-Presidents of the Union League Club of New York, Saturday, April 8, 1911.

*Mr. President and Fellow Members of the Union League Club:*

This meeting which you give with such a large representation of our membership to the ex-Presidents of this organization is one of the most interesting events in the history of any club. The seven Presidents who have filled that high office for thirty-eight years are here not only in life but with vigor. The position of chief executive is inspiring, keeps the arteries from hardening and prolongs life.

Our senior, Mr. Choate, happy in his eightieth year, has talked to us to-night with all that brilliancy, versatility, wit, humor and eloquence which has endeared him for more than half a century to his countrymen. I join with you in congratulating him upon having preserved the poster which announced that the Republicans of the Twentieth Ward of New York City would hold a ratification meeting for the election to the Presidency of Fremont and Dayton in October, 1856, and that the speakers would be Joseph H. Choate, Esquire, and others. He had already reached that distinction so eagerly sought by all young orators of rising from among others to the first place on the program for the night.

But our friend Choate is not the sole survivor of the speakers of the campaign of 1856, for, in September of that year, I was the only speaker at a

Republican ratification at Simpson's Hall, in the Village of Peekskill. What is the Twentieth Ward compared with the Village of Peekskill?

The quotation of Mr. Choate from "Alice in Wonderland" most felicitously indicates the source of the success in life of your ex-Presidents whom you welcome here this evening. The philosophy of that quotation is that victory or longevity is largely a question of skill as a jawsmith. I would like to know where in this country there are any citizens who have got larger dividends out of the exercise of that member of the human anatomy, the jaw, than these ex-Presidents: Joseph H. Choate, Horace Porter, Elihu Root and myself.

For many years I have been deeply interested in the plan to care for the ex-Presidents of the United States. While there are living seven ex-Presidents of the Union League Club, there never has been more than two of the United States. The cares of that office are a bar to longevity, and the living ex-President speedily expires when a new one appears. We as a people do not like to have our ex-Presidents return and enter upon the ordinary vocations of life. Mr. Cleveland felt that so strongly that he left a large and remunerative practice and lived in the quiet of scholastic Princeton. There was a certain vexation among the people when Grant entered into business and when Harrison returned to the practice of law. After much thought I had devised a scheme and contributed much literature to it for pensioning ex-Presidents. The idea had become popular and was generally supported in the press. The thought was that the country should have those experiences which can be secured nowhere except in the Presidency by giving to the ex-President a life seat in either House of Congress with a salary suf-

ficient to maintain the dignity of the position. But the scheme was killed by President Roosevelt. In a notable speech just before he retired from office, he called attention to this effort and said in effect that he desired to inform his countrymen that he did not wish them to make any provision for him by way of pension or otherwise, and then remarked with rare emphasis, "This ex-President can take care of himself." He certainly has demonstrated not only to the United States but to the whole world his vigorous and successful independence.

I do not know that the question of what to do with the ex-Presidents of the Union League Club has ever been agitated, but you have happily solved that problem. Dine them frequently, dine them well and make them glad at the dinner by your enthusiastic and cheering approval of their administrations.

I was for seven years President of this club, three years longer than anyone who ever held the place. It gave me a knowledge of human nature, as exhibited without reserve in this family relationship, which has been of incalculable value and amusing interest. It is an old saying that eighteen hundred members of a club pay annual dues in order that they may occasionally have a place to dine or to sleep, and one hundred of their number enjoy palatial accommodations and comforts at the lowest possible cost. It is among these perennials that we study human nature—the few who grab all the morning and evening papers so that the occasional dropper-in can find none, the few who take all the seats in the library and all the tables for correspondence and retain possession, the few who regard it as an outrage if new members staying in town over night deprive them for an hour or so of their daily

accommodations in the dining-room, which they think belong to them by pre-emption alone. One of the plaints of the House Committee in my time was how six members would combine their order and beat the club by having an order for two secure a course dinner.

But, while this is one of the best social clubs in the world, its distinction is political. It had its origin in 1863 in the darkest hour of the Civil War. It was organized to help the government with both money and men. Its members subscribed for government securities when the credit of the nation was at its lowest ebb, and they recruited regiments at the expense of the club. A notable part of the history of New York in the Civil War is the regiment of colored men raised and equipped by the Union League Club. The prejudice in this city against the negro was as great almost as in South Carolina. It was doubtful if that regiment would be permitted to march down Fifth Avenue and Broadway to the trains and steamers which were to carry it to the front. The whole country doubted whether, with the strong pro-slavery sentiment of that period in this city, this regiment would be permitted to leave without being attacked and possibly dispersed. But the members of this club, who had raised that regiment, many of them well advanced in years and known and honored for a generation in this community, solved the question by marching at the head of the colored regiment as it moved down Broadway. Unarmed, as they were, the moral courage of their act awed the crowd and instead of abuse and assault they were met with cheers.

This incident recalls to my mind at this moment the march of the Seventh Regiment to the front. The government called for the National Guard, and

the Seventh Regiment of New York, at that time the best drilled and equipped in the country, immediately responded. Everyone who witnessed their departure has carried through life upon the tablets of memory the most extraordinary picture of the Civil War. When the novelty had worn away and people had become accustomed to the war hundreds of regiments from New England and the rural part of New York marched down Broadway without exciting much interest or attention. But when the Seventh marched the people did not know what war meant. We had had none since the Mexican War of 1848, in which few participated and which none remembered. The attack on Sumter had aroused horror and indignation through the North. In New York, with a much smaller population than now, the Seventh Regiment was peculiarly representative of its business and professional life. The whole country seemed to have come to New York to witness its departure. On every sidewalk and up to the roofs of the stores and houses and banked in the side streets were men and women waiting to give to the boys their greeting and farewell. The regiment never looked so well. Its ranks were full; none had of thousands who felt that they were parting preceded and followed them came from the full hearts of thousands who felt that they were parting perhaps forever with friends who were risking their lives for their benefit. While there was everything to inspire glory in the wild enthusiasm of these multitudes, there was a background of the tenderest pathos. In carriages and upon temporary platforms, where the cross-streets met the Avenue, stood the mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts of the soldiers. There was doubt if the regiment would reach Washington without being destroyed and greater

doubt if its members would ever return alive. From carriage window or from platform would be the fluttering of the handkerchiefs as the loved one came abreast. There was no sign from the ranks. It was "eyes front" and perfect marching. But as company after company went by, these women who had fluttered these handkerchiefs of farewell dropped in heaps where they stood as if the Angel of Death had already done his dreadful work. I have seen most of the great processions of the world, those of the pomp and splendor of inauguration of Presidents and coronation of Kings and Queens, those of mourning over mighty dead, those of celebration over historic events and those of commemoration of the victories of war or the triumphs of peace, but never in my life have I witnessed or felt anything so human, so closely in touch with everybody, so pathetic, and yet so inspiring, as the march of the Seventh Regiment down Broadway for the front in 1861.

Well, gentlemen, we are not here for reminiscence alone. The ambition of this club is always to do what it can for the present and provide as far as possible for the future. I regret that in a way its political activities have abated in deference to its social side. There was a long period when the utterances of this club against fiat money, against debasing the currency by free silver, in favor of the gold standard, and for right industrial principles, were potent in the platforms of political conventions, in the speeches of candidates and in the legislation of Congresses and Legislatures. Presidents and Governors and candidates for legislative offices ardently desired the approval of this club. Its power was in the fact that it did not name candidates but it was understood that an unworthy candidate would not receive its support and might receive its condemna-

tion. The presidency of this club placed the recipient upon the high road to political recognition.

Of our Presidents, Choate, as Ambassador to Great Britain, left a memory which will last through generations, both on the diplomatic and social side. Horace Porter was one of the best Ambassadors we have ever had in France. John Jay performed splendid service for his country as its representative at the courts of Berlin and Vienna. Cornelius N. Bliss, while Secretary of the Interior, astonished the land-grabber and the robber of Indian lands and appropriations by treating them as thieves, and carrying into that office the principles of an honorable business life which had made him one of the most distinguished merchants in New York. Elihu Root, as Secretary of War, originated and carried into effect the reforms which have made our Army an efficient machine, and, as Secretary of State, he placed our consular service upon a business basis, with merit as the qualification for places, while, in a larger way, by his wonderful visits to the capitals of the South American Republics, he did more for Pan-American peace and the preservation of the Monroe Doctrine than had been accomplished by any statesman in half a century.

Gentlemen, the work of this club will never be finished. New problems are constantly arising almost as important to our future, as a people and a nation, as those of the preservation of the Union. The perpetuity of the Republic is assured, the stability of its currency is established, but, in the future as in the past, beneficent principles can be aided by the intelligence, courage and patriotism of our club.

## Speech at a Masonic Celebration at the Manhattan Opera House, New York. April 13, 1911.

*Brethren:*

We all have been interested and instructed by the eloquence of Brother Wolfe, of Washington. I think I ought to reveal a secret, not a Masonic one, but a State secret. One of the best officers in our consular service was Brother Wolfe while Consul General at Cairo. It was at the time of the famous revolt of the Arabs against British rule, which for a time was very threatening. An English official came to the Consul General and said, "I think the rebels will capture Cairo, and I advise you to leave. If they succeed, their first act will be to kill all the English and Christians." "Well," said Consul Wolfe, carelessly flicking the ashes from his cigar, "that does not affect me, for I am neither; I am an American and a Jew."

The subject assigned to me, "The Mystic Tie," covers the whole field of Freemasonry, but it has a larger significance in the relation of peoples to each other, of capital and labor, of employer and employee and in the life of governments. It is a far cry back to the building of Solomon's temple and to the civilizations which had their rise and fall in the thousand years that intervened before the birth of Christ. We, as Masons, believe that the first successful effort to practically bring about the brotherhood of man occurred during the building of that wonderful temple. Solomon had gathered not only material but artisans from all the known

world. These races and nationalities were natural enemies. The only international law known was force and might. But Hiram, the Master Builder, was more than an architect or a mechanic. He was a statesman and a philanthropist. He brought together these hostile elements into a society whose only creed was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. For three thousand years that sentiment has slowly worked its way down the centuries. It has been often checked. For long periods it had no life, so far as the relations of nations and alien peoples to each other are concerned, but the flame has been kept ever burning upon the altars of Masonic Lodges.

We are to-day suddenly and in a large way brought face to face with the problem of universal peace. The message of the President of the United States meets with cordial and eager response from the King, government and people of Great Britain. In every church in England meetings are held to promote peace and good-will among men. Carnegie contributes a fund which yields five hundred thousand dollars a year to give practical impulse to the movement. The advocates of great armies and navies, who believe them to be insurance policies for the peace of the countries which keep enlarging them, are met for the first time with an opposition which is something more than theory and sentimentalism. The Hague Tribunal has demonstrated the efficiency and effectiveness of arbitration. It has peacefully settled international questions which under the rule of the ages could have been decided only by the arbitrament of the sword. Now President Taft suggests to the civilized nations of the world, groaning under the burden of maintaining their armies and navies and madly

rushing toward national bankruptcy in the effort to equal or outdo each other by increasing the machinery of war, that arbitration may well become universal, and armies in the future instead of increasing can steadily diminish. As fast as this suggestion is accepted, so rapidly is extended among the peoples the beneficent influence of "The Mystic Tie."

In July I will celebrate the fiftieth year of my entrance into the Masonic fraternity. I think vigor, health and longevity have come to me because of its associations. They have given to me a half century of unalloyed pleasure, of warm friendships and of growth in the belief of the beneficent influences of our Order. What a wonderful half century from 1861, when I became a Mason, until now in 1911! In all that makes life worth the living, in all that adds to material prosperity, individual and national, in all that adds to the comforts of life and the alleviation of diseases, this half century has no parallel. It has given to the world a larger liberty in government for the people and by the people than any other half century of recorded time. Within this half century the petty States of Germany have become united in one empire and the German people, in their marvelous industrial development, in the expansion of their trade and their commerce abroad, in liberties which they never knew before, have come to a large share in the blessings of the progress and evolution of this half cycle; so has united Italy; so has Republican France; so has Great Britain, with a larger and more responsive democracy than almost any nation. We have witnessed the creative processes of liberty penetrating the realm of Russian autocracy, and of Persian and Turkish absolutism, with something

more than the semblance of representative government. The cables under the ocean bringing the round earth in intimate communication as the sun rises in its course every day, the leviathans of the deep constantly enlarging the sum of exchanges of products which promote peace, comfort and prosperity, the telephone, the necessary hand-maiden of our daily life, are all the discoveries of our half century. The air about us has been forced to yield the electric current which is in time to conserve our coal deposits and our forests and run our railroads and our industries. It has been forced to surrender upon commercial lines life-giving nitrogen to add to the productiveness of the soil and of its fruits. Education, at the expense of the State, is brought to the door of every child and equal opportunity to the home of every citizen.

One of the most affecting pictures in the story of Masonry occurred at the time of the disbandment of the American Army at the close of the Revolutionary War. Washington and his officers were Masons. They met as a lodge in his tent upon the eve of departure for their various homes, never to gather again. We can easily imagine in the exchange of fraternal greetings their expression to one another of a new extension of "The Mystic Tie." These thirteen colonies, with their adverse interests and many antagonisms, have been brought into a unified republic. We transmit to our children a united nation founded upon the eternal principles of liberty, to be maintained by them forever. We have fought and won for our people a principle never before recognized in government and embodied in the immortal declaration which has been our inspiration in camp and upon battlefield, "All men are created equal, with certain inalienable

rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." "The Mystic Tie" framed that immortal document, the Constitution of the United States, and the machinery of the new government commenced its beneficent work. The Republic of the United States grew in everything which constitutes a great, glorious and free empire for seventy-eight years. Fifty years ago yesterday, Fort Sumter was fired upon. In all the cabinets of Europe it was the universal belief, "This shot breaks 'The Mystic Tie,' and the Republic of the United States goes down in blood as many another has in the history of the world." The slave-holding oligarchy firmly believed, "This shot breaks 'The Mystic Tie' that binds our States to the Federal Government." No one who witnessed it, can ever forget the shock, the horror, the fear and the rage of that day. In the old village of Peekskill I, with others who had attended church, were in the happy crowds going to our homes. Newsboys suddenly flashed along the street with the morning papers from New York shouting, "Sumter has been fired upon." Men, women and children stopped as if paralyzed and with blanched faces read the news. But there was one support for "The Mystic Tie" which the conspirators had not reckoned upon. It was the sentiment for "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever," spoken with lofty inspiration by Webster and embodied in every school book and spoken for a generation in every declamation contest and upon every school platform in the land. "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever," rang from the farms and through the workshops and from the pulpits and penetrated the offices of the lawyers and doctors and the counting rooms of the merchants

and the shops of the manufacturers. In response to that cry millions of men left their homes and marched to die if need be for the perpetuity through all eternity of "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever." Slavery died, Lincoln reunited the Union, the seceded States came into the equal share with their victorious brethren of all the inestimable privilege of our government. The reunited country has moved forward by leaps and bounds to a position among the powers of the world, to an expansion of its liberties, to a development of its territories, to a union and prosperity of its peoples, never before accomplished anywhere or among any peoples in recorded time. So, my brethren, both within the lodge for three thousand years and in our country during its history, we live and move and have our being under "The Mystic Tie."

## Speech at the Luncheon of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati and Their Guests from Other State Societies, Metropolitan Club, New York, May 10, 1911.

*Comrades:*

One of the most interesting of the commemorations of our Order of the Society of the Cincinnati is the celebration of its organization. On his birthday we have a formal, and more or less imposing, ceremonial for the founder of the Society, George Washington, but this occasion is always informal and the addresses particularly so.

I was reconstructing in my own mind on my way to this luncheon the scenery and conditions of the period when the Society was born, May 10th, 1783. The Continental Army and some of their French allies were encamped at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson. The war was over, and they were waiting for New York to be evacuated by the British troops in order that the victorious host of the Republic might make a formal entry, be disbanded, and return to their homes after seven years of glorious war. There is no more picturesque or beautiful spot in the world than the Highlands of the Hudson, and especially at this time of the year. Peace having arrived, these veterans of the patriot army were enjoying a rest after their long and arduous campaign and the terrible sufferings from want and privation which they had endured. Just below them was West Point suggesting a story still fresh in the minds of all how their struggle might have been a disastrous

failure if Benedict Arnold's conspiracy at that place had been successful. The communion of the officers must have been full of reminiscences of gallant comrades who had died, or fields fought over again, of the chivalric French without whose assistance they might never have won. In the midst of such surroundings an inspiration came to the Commander-in-Chief, the one man upon whom devolved the greatest responsibilities of his age and the greatest trials of his time, but who with infallible judgment never made a mistake, and always, with his happy combination of genius, tact and sense, did the right thing at the right time. Of course, then as now, organizations were created about the festive board. They knew no luncheons then. Dinner was always at or soon after noontime, and the evening meal was an informal affair called supper. That was the universal habit of the people of the United States during the first century of our existence. That dinner in Washington's tent was a suggestion, after all of the hardships of these veteran soldiers, of the future prosperity of the country which they had created. The Hudson River was teeming with fish, and especially rich in that best of them all, the shad. How different is our experience now with this most delicious of the members of the finny tribe. As she returns from the sea to her spawning beds she is met in the lower bay with the sludge from the factories of the Standard Oil Company. Avoiding that as best she can, her next draught of what should be pure water is the sewage of the State of New Jersey, through the Passaic River, emptying into our harbor. As she seeks to escape in order to return to the place of her birth, she is assailed on every side with the outpourings of the refuse of this great city, of its sister on the other side and

of the innumerable factories along the banks. Contrast this fish with the ones that were served on that memorable day in Washington's tent. It was my good fortune, as a Hudson River boy, to eat such shad in my early days. When the river was pure, when the water had the natural food of the fish, and when it was brought alive from the nets to the table, then the shad was a feast for the gods.

But the Ramapo Hills and the hills about Newburgh were at that time full of game, and our forefathers were keen and successful sportsmen. There were no game laws, for none were needed, and game was not, as it is, unhappily, in our day, in danger of extermination by the pot hunter, the ignorant legislator passing foolish laws and officers enforcing them in a way to bring them into contempt and ridicule.

The cellars of the old colonial families were still full of the choicest vintages of the Old World, and they were drawn upon freely and sent by General Schuyler and his associates to the Commander-in-Chief.

In these surroundings the Chief said to his compatriots, "Let us form a society which will stand forever for the principles and the preservation of our new Republic." Then was drafted, with that marvelous compactness and lucidity which characterized all formal papers of Alexander Hamilton, the constitution which has just been read to us, and to that constitution, commencing with the signature of George Washington, there followed the officers of the Continental Army and the officers of their French allies. According to the habit of that period the membership was made hereditary.

I once heard one of the ablest of British statesmen and most eloquent of speakers, Lord Rosebery,

say in his charming way that if the American colonies had not rebelled, and remained loyal to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, their growth and prosperity would probably have been the same if not greater. The overwhelming influence of these most populous, wealthy and powerful of the semi-independent colonies of the empire would have drawn Buckingham Palace to New York, Windsor Castle to the Hudson and the Parliament Houses to Central Park. Of course, all this was in a spirit of friendly humor and banter; nevertheless, it suggests a pregnant thought. The movement of populations to new territories in order that they may better their conditions, either in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty or materially, is governed more by sentiment than by interest. Australia has an area a little greater than the United States. It has a soil and climate eminently fitted to sustain a large population. For sixty years it has had the same opportunities in government, in all essential liberties and in attractiveness as our own country, and yet, while our population has grown to one hundred million, Australasia has only about eight million, less than the single State of New York. Canada on our northern border has an area in square miles about the same as our own. Two-thirds of it at least is capable of profitable development in agriculture, forestry and mining. Its existence as a colony, with every independent power of self-government, except a sentimental attachment as a member of the British Empire and the English Crown, is coincident in years with that of the Republic of the United States, and yet the population of Canada, with all the power of Great Britain to assist, is less again than that of the single State of New York.

It is most interesting that the great migrations of the last century, of which such a large number came from the British Isles, have steadily flowed into the United States and could not be diverted to either Australasia or to Canada. If the governments of these colonies had been narrow or restricted or illiberal, the question could be easily answered, but every liberty, freedom of conscience, civil rights, liberty of locomotion, free press, universal suffrage, are common to all these governments. In the United States, however, the citizen is not a subject. He is a sovereign. Within his sphere he is a king, and, united to make a majority, he becomes the sovereign power in the land. It is this sentiment of becoming an independent citizen of a country with an independent government which has created out of our wilderness great commonwealths, which has spread populations over our plains and mountains and valleys while these enormous colonies of the mother country remain so largely still in primeval conditions.

It was about the time of the organization of the Society of the Cincinnati when the army, in arrears of pay for three years, angered at the Continental Congress by its neglect, presented a petition to Washington stating in effect that a new representative government never would be strong enough to live, and their safety and that of their children was in a powerful executive like a king; if he only would take this place, they had the power to put and keep him there and the country would be safe. Washington rejected their proposal with more temper than he had ever displayed, and, at the same time, read them a lesson, which they never forgot, upon the value of the liberty for which they had fought. It may have been that this contemplated

revolt suggested to Washington the formation of this society as one of the bonds of union. The keynote, the central thought of its Constitution as approved by him, was loyalty to the Union of the States and the preservation of the National Government.

A few months afterwards Washington bid farewell to his officers at Fraunce's Tavern in New York and departed for his home at Mount Vernon. The officers, returning to the thirteen States to which they belonged, carried with them the charters of the State societies as they exist to-day. As we read of the dangers of the young Republic, of the Articles of Confederation which proved a rope of sand, of the difficulties in the Constitutional Convention to form a national instrument which would be acceptable to all, of the opposition to its ratification which was successful for more than a year, and of the perils of the new government until Washington had placed it upon a firm foundation during his two terms as President, we can appreciate the value of this Society in cementing the Union of the States. Wireless telegraphy has come to us within the last decade, but wireless telepathy is as old as human intelligence. The officers of the Continental Army were the leading spirits in their several communities. Every one of them was actuated with the spirit of Washington. Mails were irregular and communication difficult in that early period, but each knew, as opposition to the Union, or to the adoption of the Constitution, or to the administration of Washington, showed itself in his neighborhood what Washington expected him to do, and, though his sword was sheathed, as a citizen he performed that duty as loyally as he would have

done under the eye of his great commander upon the field of battle.

Washington seems to us to have been the most industrious man who ever lived. His estates, his business, his hospitality were enough work for anyone, but he kept up a correspondence, all written by his own hand, with his officers, with distinguished civilians and with eminent men in foreign lands. The Constitutional Convention could never have agreed except for his commanding influence and the support which he received from the constituencies of its members among the officers of the Army of the Revolution all over the country. It could never have been ratified by the States except that in every State Convention were these veterans carrying out the wishes, voicing the sentiments and loyally following the lead of their great chief. It is a delightful and at the same time a most responsible heritage that has come to us, the descendants of the officers who formed the Society of the Cincinnati. Each period has its crises and its perils the same as during the administration of Washington. They differ in degree and intensity, and yet each of them require for their proper solution the best intelligence, the highest patriotism and the most devoted loyalty of the citizen. To the members of the Society of the Cincinnati this duty is one specially imposed and gladly accepted. As we celebrate the organization of the Society, the birthday of Washington, its founder, and on the Fourth of July the Declaration of Independence, we study again the story of the founder, we read anew the life of the Republic and we renew afresh the obligations transmitted to us by our ancestors, and which we assumed when we signed our constitution.

## Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims' Society of New York, to Hon. John Hays Hammond, Special Ambassador to the Coronation of King George V, May 24, 1911.

*Mr. President:*

In honoring the Special Ambassador to Great Britain for the coronation of King George, we Pilgrims are performing one of our constitutional functions. The Pilgrims' Society of New York and the Pilgrims' Society of London have been among the most efficient agencies in bringing about an era of perpetual peace, good-will and friendship between the old country and the new. We meet to welcome a distinguished visitor from the other side, and then, when he goes away, we meet again to speed the parting guest. On the other hand, we give our benediction, our blessing and our good luck to our Ambassador going to his post, and then, when he retires or is retired, we greet him with a cordial welcome and consolation dinner, so that among the honors, which come as a matter of course to an American Ambassador going to England, are at least four good dinners and friendly functions—from the Pilgrims in New York when he goes, and London when he arrives, and London when he leaves, and in New York when he returns.

While Special Ambassadors have been known among royalties for centuries in the interchange of greetings on coronations and funeral ceremonies, I think the first from the United States was created by President McKinley, unless I might refer to an

earlier occasion which was never reported. Mr. Emory Storrs, a distinguished but eccentric lawyer of Chicago, wanted to be Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Arthur. He was greatly disappointed because he failed. His clients raised a fund to send him to Europe, and he went to Arthur and said that he would like to go with some distinction; so Arthur, who appreciated Storrs perfectly, had a commission made out on parchment, signed by himself and attested by the Secretary of State, with the great seal attached empowering Mr. Storrs as a Special Commissioner to look into the trouble about the importation of cattle into Great Britain from the United States. Our minister at that time was James Russell Lowell. Lowell was furious, saying that he was attending to that matter much better than could this presumptuous Chicago lawyer. Storrs was a passenger on the same ship with me. He showed me his credentials every day, with signature and stamp and the seal, and finally I said to him: "Storrs, what do you expect to accomplish?" "Well, of course," he said, "I have no intention of bothering about cattle. Our legation is amply competent to look after that. What I am after is to compel old Lowell who, I understand, shows few, if any, courtesies to Americans, to give me a dinner and request me to select the guests." Lowell told me afterward that to keep the peace with the brute and prevent trouble at Washington he granted this request, expecting that Storrs would want him to invite the Queen and the whole royal family. He was delighted when the Chicago lawyer selected Tyndall, Huxley, Tennyson and world-wide celebrities in literature, science and art. I believe the cattle question while not burning very luridly, is still a spark, but happily, its extinguishment

will not be among the duties of our friend, Mr. Hammond.

It so happened that Mr. Storrs was also a fellow-passenger on our return voyage. I said: "Tell me all about that dinner." "Well," said Mr. Storrs, "I stood one day in absorbed attention before that marvelous Madonna by Raphael, in the Dresden Gallery. It seemed to me that a divine inspiration had guided the brush of the artist. Suddenly I was conscious that the gaze of the crowded room, all Americans, was concentrated on me instead of the picture. I turned on the people and said: "Excuse me, ladies and gentlemen, you are in the presence of one of the world's greatest wonders, which to see is an event in life, and yet you drop this masterpiece for me. I never have attracted attention by my personal appearance in our own country. What is the matter? Is it my clothes? They were made in Chicago." "No," said a fine-looking man who acted as spokesman for the party, "you are of more interest to us than all the old masters, because you made old Lowell give you a dinner."

The Special Ambassador, during the ceremonies, is the whole show. The regular Ambassador is not in it. As a result, the regular Ambassador has never yet, however he may have acted outwardly, accepted with cordiality the presence of this functionary who precedes himself. Well, then, the question arises, and has always arisen, "What is the Special Ambassador to do?" Precisely the same as the special representatives from the other great powers. He is the President of the United States. Everywhere, at all places, he is received as the President of the United States. In other words he is Taft, and I am sure, as we all are, that our genial, com-

panionable and attractive President has happily chosen in making our friend Hammond on this distinguished occasion his personal representative.

As a traveler for many years, I have had impressed upon me the difference between an Ambassador and a Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. By a rule, four hundred years old, the Ambassador can stand covered, if he chooses to do that, in the presence of the King. In any event, he stands as an equal among the royalties, while a Minister Plenipotentiary in England goes in after a Duke and ahead of an Earl. This was our condition until the period of John Hay. The British Government, by all sorts of ruses and subterfuges did their best to give some distinction to our Minister, but they never could induce the Ambassadors of other countries to let him in among the elect or to allow him to march in with them.

One time, when I was in Paris, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom I had met in America at the time I delivered the oration at the unveiling of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, sent a special messenger asking me to have the American Minister present me to him officially at the Foreign Office. The Minister and I went down and had to wait an hour after we arrived before we were admitted, though the hour had been named. On making an inquiry, we found that an Ambassador had arrived a few minutes after we did, but, in deference to his rank, he had to be admitted first. I inquired, "From what country is this Ambassador?" The answer was, "Hayti." With that experience I became a missionary for the creation of embassies, and I think the narration of this incident had something to do with the final success of the movement.

While a Senator, I had a conference with the then President. The object of the consultation was to secure the retention of certain gentlemen in the diplomatic service and the appointment of others. The President said: "I am going to change nearly the whole diplomatic corps. While we never can do without this service so long as other countries have it, I regard the position as an honorary one to decorate citizens who deserve distinction. England can give titles, knighthoods and decorations, France has the Legion of Honor, and other countries have various orders which become hereditary privileges, while we have nothing of the kind. Now critical matters are always conducted by cable directly through the Foreign Office and the Secretary of State and, therefore, I think that when a man has been ambassador for four years, or certainly six, he ought to yield and allow the decoration to be pinned onto the coat of some other worthy and deserving citizen. The honor lasts for his life. It gives him the precedence at all dinners in his own country, and is part of the record of his family to endless generations, so I propose to remove many of my most intimate friends, believing that I do them no harm, while I confer honor and distinction upon others whom I think eminently worthy." I do not entirely agree with the President in this view, because I have known many instances, in fact, they occur frequently, where the acquaintances formed by the ambassador with the ruling powers of the country to which he is accredited, and where the fact that he is on the spot often removes frictions which might grow into serious matters, and often removes prejudices and misunderstandings before they have reached the dignity of a controversy, which would call into play the

activities of the ruler and the foreign office, on the one hand, and the President and Secretary of State and possibly Congress, on the other.

Our friend will greet the King upon his coronation with a special message from the President at a more auspicious moment than has ever occurred before in the relations of our two countries, when a King was crowned or a President was inaugurated, because he arrives at the happy time when the perpetual settlement of disputes by arbitration, suggested by President Taft and cordially seconded by King George, is receiving unprecedented welcome and approval from the Parliament and the people of Great Britain, and from the people of the United States, and only awaits the action of Congress to perfect its beneficent results.

It is with more than an expression of personal regard and good wishes that we bid Ambassador Hammond farewell. The occasion rises far above an individual compliment. It is because we, as Americans, recognize in his mission, and in the reception which it will receive in Great Britain, an added impetus to the movement so happily inaugurated by President Taft for an eternity of peace, friendship and the reciprocal benefits of amicable relations between Great Britain and the United States.

*(Stenographically Reported)*

**Speech at the Pilgrims' Coronation Dinner, Savoy Hotel, London, June 28, 1911, in Honor of the Special Ambassador to the Coronation, Hon. John Hays Hammond.**

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:*

I am very glad to be here because for one reason I had the pleasure of making a speech at the Pilgrims' dinner in New York for Mr. Hammond as Special Ambassador to the Coronation. I assured him at the time that he would be dined by the Pilgrims' Society in London when he arrived, and again by the Pilgrims' Society in America when he returned, and I advised him that in a mission of peace among men, and especially between English speaking peoples, the thing for him to do to promote good-will and friendship between the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain was to accept every invitation which was offered him on this side and give as many in return as he could. Now I am happily relieved from the limitations which fall upon a Special Ambassador and upon all Ambassadors. I am three months out of office. There is no sword of Damocles hanging over my head, but as an independent citizen I can acquire more influence at home by saying imprudent things as a private citizen than I can by talking solid sense. (Laughter.) And there is another special reason which gratifies me in being here to-night, and that is that we are under the chairmanship of Mr. Balfour—(applause)—because all Americans remember that at a critical

period in our history, when we were in danger of having a little difficulty of ours enormously exaggerated by a Continental combine against us, that combine was defeated largely by the personal influence of Mr. Balfour. (Cheers.) Now I wonder—because on occasions like this marvelous Coronation, and I have been at all the demonstrations of Empire which have occurred in Great Britain, there are certain things which occur to a man who has been many years, and I have been so many that I will not acknowledge them, in touch with public affairs—I wonder whether John Adams, mentioned by Mr. Birrell, Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson, the four great creators of our Republic, had been re-incarnated and, in five-guinea seats—(laughter)—had witnessed that marvelous procession, with Canada, the elder daughter of the Empire, at the head, they would have regretted that they were not at the head, as they would have been if we had not separated. My impression is that they would not. (Laughter.) If I was an Ambassador and had been in jail, I would not have said that, but what they would have thought is that in the evolution of the two countries which has occurred since the separation, each carrying out its own ideas in its own way to its manifest destiny, they have worked upon each other in the development of liberty as they never could have done if they had been together. (Applause.)

Now, Daniel Webster, who was the greatest of our orators, in a remarkable figure, as I remember it, said: "Whose morning drumbeat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." His idea, eighty years ago, was that those martial strains meant power,

the power of the white race over subject peoples. But the music which went round the world on the day of the Coronation was entirely different, because it was an anthem which reached a continuous circle of the same blood and same people, saying that the succession of independent states belting the globe were united in one Empire in a glory and strength greater than men of Webster's period ever dreamed of. (Applause.) Now we over in our country, I do not know how it is here, are considerably disturbed on the subject of germs. (Laughter.) We have, in a measure, exterminated the mosquito, and just before I left some scientific health people had organized in every village a society called "Swat the House-Fly." (Laughter.) During nearly eighty years the microbes have been fighting and having a jolly time in my blood, but, as far as I know, without any disturbance to myself; and neither my digestion nor appetite nor health have ever been interfered with by germs or microbes. I dismiss, therefore, the health side; but it occurred to me as I was coming across the Channel, and reading the marvelous accounts of the Coronation ceremonies, that there is something in the germ in the historical sense.

Up in Litchfield, Connecticut, is an old Puritan church, and the pastor of that church, during the Revolutionary War, preached a sermon when some American troops were going through to join General Washington at West Point, and he was so proud of it that he entered it on the Parish Register. I read it there; it was a long sermon. General Howe was coming across the ocean with reinforcements for the British in New York, and the good parson said: "Oh, Lord, I pray Thee that on that fleet Thy lightnings will play and Thy thunders will

roar, and that the waters may rise and bury them in the deep, and that they may go to that reward of eternal fire where they will be properly received, for Thy glory and the safety of Thy Saints, among this Thy people." (Loud laughter.) Now that germ has grown, so that Brother Birrell wrote 7,000 words describing the procession to a great New York newspaper, and so that in every considerable place in the United States the churches were open for religious services for the health and prosperity of the British people and the King just consecrated. (Applause.) Now these germs, the germ of Runnymede, for instance, when those glorious old athletes who did not think learning amounted to anything except for the parson and the lawyer, and therefore with the hilts of their swords put their mark upon the seals of Magna Charta, they enclosed in that charter a germ which in the evolution of the centuries produced the principles which Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, which Lincoln wrote in the proclamation emancipating the slaves, and which for you has created a democracy which, while retaining the forms and ceremonies of the past, has so united mediævalism with modernism that you have a democratic government more democratic in its immediate responsiveness to the people than any which exists.

Well, my friends, since I have been here I have heard that there is a fear, which mars somewhat the pleasure of our visit, that we are seeking Canada. Now I want to assure you that there are no signs of that. Uncle Sam does not mean anything of the kind, and is not serious in his intentions, though rather tumultuous in his ardor, and the beautiful Lady of the Snows up North understands him perfectly. This reciprocity treaty shows

that she is quite able to take care of herself, and of contributing something to the general welfare of the Empire to which she belongs. We have acquired within the last ten years Hawaii and Porto Rico and the Philippines, and we think we have not, but still we have, Cuba. (Loud Laughter.) So we are in a position on this question of annexation and of not wanting any more territory of the opulently gifted lady in the sense of avoirdupois, who was a suburbanite, whom I saw getting on the train one day with her arms full of bundles, as suburbanite ladies always are, and as she put a foot on the step of the car one fell off, and when she picked it up two fell off. A neighbor said to her, "I am detained in the City to-night, may I add this parcel to yours for my wife?" She answered: "No, I have troubles enough of my own." (Laughter.)

I have noticed also that there is no difference in the evolution of Parliamentary life between Great Britain and the United States. If I may be reminiscent for a moment, about twenty-five years ago Lord Rosebery invited me to go after dinner to a meeting in the interests of Empire—Colonials and the like. It was a small room and they were principally colonial bishops. There was no talk but plenty of champagne and cigars. In fact, it was a spiritual meeting. (Laughter.) Well, there was not a word of it in next morning's papers. Twenty-five years have passed, and in the hall of Rufus, the seat of the mother of Parliaments, this same Lord Rosebery recently presided at a great banquet to the colonial representatives of these empires in themselves, yet all affiliated in interest and patriotism with the central government, working out their own destinies, united somewhat as our

States are, with our central government. That assembly listened to one of the happiest speeches from Lord Rosebery, one of the most gifted of your orators, voicing the sentiment of Empire for Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone once said to me that if he could select from among all the years of recorded time a half century, the half century he would select would be that in which he had lived, because it was a half century of emancipation. If he could have lived twenty-five years more and witnessed this progress of which he never dreamed, he would, I think, have felt that the half century which closed on the day when King George V. was anointed and crowned was infinitely grander than the half century of which he was so proud.

I have been listening to speeches in the United States Senate for the last twelve years, and I read your speeches and I am still alive. I notice that the development of politics among statesmen and politicians is the same with you as it is with us, until a question is decided. In one of the last debates in the Senate when I was there six months ago, a senator was evolving his ideas on a critical question in the country which was specially acute in his own State, and he was a candidate for re-election. (Laughter.) He was on the fence, not, as one of your statesmen happily has said, with his flag nailed to it. A witty colleague of mine said "That speech reminds me of an old farmer in my State who came to town carrying a family clock, and said to the maker, 'I do not know what is the matter with this clock. When it strikes twelve and the hand points to four, I know it is half past two, and nobody knows it but me.'"

Well, my friend President Taft has done many happy things since he has been President of the

United States. He has succeeded in having more of his policies enacted into laws than almost any President since Lincoln, his plea for International Arbitration marks a new era of peace among nations. He has been singularly happy in his appointments to office. His appointments to the Supreme Court of the United States have led to that wonderful decision in the Standard Oil and other cases which have clarified the air and made our old Constitution good for another 125 years, because now all great problems are to be judged by the light of reason. The foolish virgins were put out of business because they had no oil. Standard Oil is to be put out of business because they have too much. (Laughter.) One of the happiest appointments of President Taft was when he determined to wipe out that jail record of Hammond by making him Special Ambassador on this occasion. We, as Americans, believe he could have made no better selection. It was my privilege to know for many years the late King very well, and to appreciate, as only those could who knew him socially, that he was the best representative of an English gentleman or a gentleman of any race; that he was the most hospitable of hosts, the most charming of companions, the most genial of men; and that, so far as America and Americans were concerned, he was on all occasions bringing all the power of his great place as Prince of Wales and as King to the bettering of the relations between our two countries. No man or woman arrived here from America who was worthy of his recognition as an artist or who was striving for some distinction, that he did not lend every aid to put that person upon a platform where that talent could be recognized. As a diplomatist, no one did so much to bring about peace between Great Britain and

other countries. Now, the hope of every American represented by our Special Ambassador, and our regular Ambassador, represented by the unanimous voice of the Press of the United States, is that in popularity with his own people and in success as a King, George V will be as great as his father and, if possible, greater.

## Speech at the Banquet given by the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris, France, July 4, 1911.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, who had just returned from the United States on a mission of peace by arbitration, had closed a brilliant speech describing his visit and the result of his mission, when Mr. Depew was asked to reply.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

I dislike at this late hour to break the charm of the address which has just been delivered by my friend Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. No itinerary of the United States will ever be perfect which does not include his description of our cities. No booming Western City, especially Denver and Seattle, will be worthy of the ambition which they have to outrival New York, unless they scatter a leaflet reading "See what the baron says about us."

The following little story about Boston and Chicago, I think, fully illustrates the merits and virtues of both. A Boston man found himself in Heaven, and when Saint Peter called his attention to all the wonderful things there, he said, "Yes, very fine, but it isn't Boston." When a Chicago man was being led about the other world he said to his attendant, "I did not know that Chicago was so much like Heaven," and the attendant replied, "Well, you are not in Heaven."

I am not surprised that after the visit which our friend, the baron, paid to Salt Lake City he no longer keeps quiet on the subject of the girls. Really, the

gentleman from Boston Chamber of Commerce voiced the sentiment of the evening when he said that here in Paris we Americans feel at home. There has been no missionary going to the United States in the interest of peace and amity, no missionary recalling to Americans what the French did for us, no missionary since Lafayette, who has received such a welcome, because of the people whom he represented and the message he brought, as did the orator who has just taken his seat, our friend the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. There are two places in the world where we Americans can celebrate the Fourth of July with absolute unanimity. Every country celebrates its natal day or its one great event within its own boundaries, and among its own people, but it is possible for Americans to celebrate their natal day with enthusiasm on French territory and within the boundaries of our own country. People speak of reciprocity as if it were a new sentiment, a new doctrine recently discovered, but reciprocity is 125 years old. It was reciprocity which in our darkest hour, when we were without funds, when our soldiers were barefooted, when we were nearly out of ammunition and guns, that brought to us the French Army within, and the French Navy without, and money and credit.

Now I am not a believer in germs. You know it is a fixed American idea to have germs. In America everybody is afraid to drink water or eat food, because of germs. I have lived until my seventy-eighth year, and I have eaten and drunk everything that has come my way, and there has been going on in my veins that battle which they say is continually raging between germs of one hard name and their enemies with another. If one succeeds

you are a "gonner," and if another is victorious you are safe, but here I am, so far as I can see without impaired digestion or vitality, and I only know that the results are entirely satisfactory. However, speaking about germs, there is a germ I do believe in, and that is the germ in the origin of nations and their development. The most noted germ that has ever come into this world since Christ, is the germ of liberty which appeared in the United States, and was voiced in the Declaration of Independence, but that germ compressed in this sentence by Jefferson that "All men are created equal with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" meant little at that time anywhere. In the United States was a landed aristocracy, we had no universal suffrage, suffrage was dependent upon property, and France at that time was an absolute monarchy, with a few philosophers writing about theoretical liberty. But that germ in the course of 135 years has, in our country, put us at the head of all nations, as the most populous, the most wealthy, the most liberty enjoying, the happiest people in the world. That germ came over here to France with Lafayette, Rochambeau and other French soldiers returning from America, and it produced the French Revolution, which destroyed absolutism in France, and through many revolutions it has at last in our day led to a republic which will be as perpetual as our own.

The Baron very happily spoke of dreams and sentiment. I have always been a believer in dreams and sentiment. I believe that sentiment is the one thing which has moved the world more than anything else. Lord Rosebery, the most eloquent of British orators, made a speech, partly serious, partly badinage, in which he said it was a mistake for the

American Colonies to have separated from Great Britain, because had they remained, they would have drawn the King to New York, Windsor Castle somewhere in Central Park, and Buckingham Palace in City Hall Park. Here comes in the sentiment, and the dream. Canada has been a self-governing colony just as long as the United States has been an independent Republic, Australia for more than fifty years has been a self-governing colony. Canada has a territory as large as the United States, two thirds of which is quite as productive, yet she has two millions of inhabitants less than the State of New York. Australia has a territory as large and as productive as the United States, but has a population less than New York City, and four millions less than the State of New York; four millions in Australia, seven millions in Canada, and ninety millions in the United States! What is the reason? Emigration from Europe has created all these countries. People left Europe to find civil and religious liberty, but they have civil and religious liberty in Canada and Australia as well as in the United States. People left Europe to be able to govern themselves, but they govern themselves as well in Canada and Australia as they do in the United States, and they have every opportunity we enjoy but one, and that is a shadow. That shadow is the sovereignty of Great Britain. It is not exercised, except for their protection. Great Britain taxes herself for their defence, but there is over them the shadow of a power, in whose administration they have no voice, while in our country, on the contrary, ninety millions feel independent and happy because with us there is no shadow before the sun of liberty. Its beams shine undimmed on every part of our land, and each citizen is a sovereign.

We have grown a good deal since you of the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris left to settle over here, and we have many ideas there that you would grasp if you came home more frequently. I was immensely impressed with this the other day in London. In England every newspaper praises the King. I read newspapers of all kinds, of all shades of opinion, and most of their columns were devoted editorially to praising and reporting the movements and popularity of the King, while in America no newspaper would consider itself worthy of circulation if it did not criticise the President. And yet every nation must have some ideals which the newspapers won't criticise, and which will inspire loyalty and love in the citizen. What is ours? It is the old Constitution which has stood by us without change for 125 years. England has had twenty changes in her constitution in that time. France has had fifteen or twenty new ones, Germany has had any number, even Russia and Turkey are recognizing the progress of liberty. But that old Constitution of ours prepared by those gentlemen in knee breeches, buckles, and powdered wigs, stood for three millions of people along the line of our Atlantic Coast, and is equally able to take care of ninety millions within American Territory, and ten millions in the Philippines, and the islands of the sea without, and it has not been changed in its essence in 125 years. That is our ideal, but recently there have been gentlemen with us who delight to call themselves "Progressive" and "Insurgents." I was associated with them for twelve years in the Senate very pleasantly, but publicly they believe in unrest. They have been attacking the Constitution because they say all men do not have equal opportunities. Then came the trial of the trusts,

but recently the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered a decision which has swept the platform out from under them, and made the Constitution good for another 125 years. That great decision says that every trade combination in the United States which may be regarded as unlawful, must be judged by the light of reason, and if individuals or the corporations do not possess proper reasons for their business they can go to the Circuit Court and be advised. So there is no danger of confiscation in the United States any more. If that decision had sustained the contention of the lawyers of the government that every combination whatsoever, whether good or bad, is illegal, we would have had chaos, and the greatest panic the world ever knew, until we could have readjusted ourselves, but in the light of reason we are all right. In the light of reason the foolish virgins had no oil, so they were not allowed to the wedding feast, and by the light of reason the Standard Oil had too much—and must reorganize.

We have another thing in our country in which we are superior to all others, and that is though we have parties we have no political animosities. The representatives of both parties in the Senate and the House of Representatives discuss in an academic way the things upon which they differ without personal rancor or enmity. But when I was over in England the other day, I discovered that they had got to a point where we were at the close of the Civil War, with the same passions and the same bitterness —especially among the women. When the women are bitter in politics, you may make up your mind that a remarkable evolution is in progress. I was sitting the other night at dinner talking to a charming Englishwoman of high social position and rank

and of broad sympathies and benevolence, who is doing good in every way that will benefit her people, and somehow, as always happens now in England, the conversation switched round to the present political crisis, and the enormous impending changes in their constitution—including the abolition of the Upper Chamber, and she said: "Do you know I wish we were back in the good old days. I would like to assist in hanging every member of the Government, and as for Winston Churchill I would like to see him tortured first, and then put on the string." I like Winston Churchill and respect his great abilities. I was fond of his father, and am a great admirer of his mother. He is a brilliant young man destined to a most promising future. I am a great admirer of Asquith. He is a very able statesman, and as an American I should feel bad to see him hung on a string. We have no such sentiment as that in the United States. Over in London they said to me: "How can you talk of arbitration and peace when you are trying to steal Canada indirectly?" Great Scott, gentlemen, we have got ice enough of our own. We keep eggs in cold storage for a year, and we have our own problems, which are quite sufficient. We have the Philippines—whose people say they want to be free, in a way that will permit them to do as they please, but leave us the expense of maintaining their government and protecting them. We have Guam, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, and we sometimes think we have got rid of Cuba. I also said to my English friends: "We have the South American Republics, who get all they can of English, German, and French money, and then when a dreadnought goes over to collect it, they say to Uncle Sam: 'The sacred Monroe Doctrine must be safeguarded by you.' Our inventors at home are

in the way of helping everybody. There is Mr. Burbank, the wizard of California. Not long ago he visited Pittsburgh, and when he went home he commenced practising on the succulent which we all love so well—the pea—and he has succeeded in producing a square pea which will not roll off the blade of multi-millionaires who still eat with a knife.

Well, my friends, I think the sentiment of this Fourth of July Banquet—I have been to nearly all that this Chamber has celebrated, and each one has had some sentiment of its own—all of them for international commerce and good will—but this Fourth of July Banquet voices another and more universal sentiment than any of its predecessors, and its grand apostle is our guest here to-night—Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. This is a celebration largely in the interest of Peace by Arbitration. Commencing with Abraham Lincoln I have known every President of the United States very well, known them in their peculiarities, in their faults, in their good qualities, and in their great ones. For everyone of them was a great man, or he could not have been by the suffrage of the American people President of the United States. But of all those Presidents, how many will be remembered 100 years from now? Lincoln, whom I first knew, yes, so long as the Republic endures. Grant? Yes, but among the rest! Now we have a President who differs from all others I have known, because of characteristics I have never met in a politician anywhere, and I think it is because his education has been not political but judicial. He has been most of his life on the bench, but there it has been his habit to listen patiently to the arguments of both sides, to render his decision according to the law and the Constitution, and then dismiss it, never thinking of himself one moment,

nor how that decision would affect his own fortunes, and so in the three years in which Taft has been President he has succeeded in securing the enactment into law of more of his recommendations than almost any President of my time, and yet the underlying sentiment with him has been, "This is right. The majority of my people may be against it, but I think they are mistaken. My judgment is it is the best for the country. I cannot for a moment consider its effect upon my future." Mr. Taft, a man unaffected by passion, partisanship, or faction at home has looked abroad over the great field of international amity, brought to his attention while Governor of the Philippines, and has sent forth to the world (and that is to be his monument) a Message of Peace. While all nations are building larger battleships, increasing the number of their armies, and offering the highest rewards for inventions in destructive machinery and explosives, this calm Executive of the United States conceives the idea that possibly even now there may be brought about such relations between the different countries of the world that war may be abolished and peace established, and commerce and amity be the governing principles of international relations. Taft will live, because a principle like this, once started never stops, and as President of the United States he has already secured the cordial assent of Great Britain and France, and he will live because he has brought into the relations of the people of the world a recognition of the principle which was founded on Calvary, and which has never yet been realized. Peace among nations and brotherhood among men.

## Address at the Meeting in Memory of Cornelius N. Bliss, held by the Republican Club of the City of New York, November 5, 1911.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

It is a most appropriate and fitting function of this Club that it should meet to pay tribute to the memory of Cornelius N. Bliss. He was one of the oldest of its members and one of its Presidents. He was one of the most active of our associates in the public work of this organization. The principles for which the club stands and for which it has always labored were the ones in which he firmly believed. That belief was not perfunctory nor found its activity in the mere expression of opinion. He thought business prosperity and the employment of labor and capital and content and happiness among the people were dependent upon these principles being crystallized into laws. With that view he gave without stint both personal effort and contributions for the promotion of the cause.

When he came to New York in 1866, forty-five years ago, mercantile conditions in this city were such that a newcomer had only a fighting chance in the field. Our merchants had a national and international reputation and were jealous to the point of active hostilities of any competition in their various lines. A. T. Stewart, the Grinnells, Howland, Aspinwall, and a few others, were the merchant princes of the times. The financial situation made the conduct of enterprises, and especially the starting of new ones, exceedingly hazardous. We had just come

out of the Civil War and the country had not adjusted itself to normal conditions. We had an irredeemable currency and as its necessary adjunct the wildest speculation. The methods now of limiting competition are for those who are engaged in the various branches of the production of articles based upon a common product of raw material to combine into great corporations. Against this method of either preventing or of limiting competition, Congress, Legislatures and courts are actively at war. Methods of accomplishing the same results forty-five years ago were more effective and much simpler. The day of the great corporations had not arrived, but the day of the masterful man was here, as it has been for thousands of years, and will be for thousands of years to come, in every community, great or small. A. T. Stewart was the pioneer in what is now known as the department store. He was a genius in his line and his shrewdest and keenest commercial sense was based upon a liberal education. When a competitor was doing a prosperous business in one of the lines which he sold, he immediately investigated his condition. If it was cottons or silks or woolens, or what not, that was this merchant's specialty, Stewart soon became familiar with his financial standing, with the quality of his goods and with the elements of his success. Then by wide advertisements he would sell that special product away below cost, relying upon the profit in other departments to make up his own losses at the same time that this ruinous competition drove the competitor into bankruptcy. If he was a man of ability who was desirable, Stewart would annex him as an employee, but if there was no place the poor fellow joined the ranks of the unsuccessful and the unfortunate. It is an interesting question whether this

merciless method which no law could reach is better than combinations in a corporation, provided that corporation's activities are governed by proper supervision by a bureau of the government to prevent monopoly and restraint of trade.

Mr. Bliss had to meet, as his business grew, the full force of this terrific onslaught. It shows how thoroughly he had studied his field, how well he was entrenched in his sources of supply and distribution that he successfully resisted the attack and compelled recognition from these powerful interests as one who was able both to take care of himself, and, if the struggle became too intense, to make it exceedingly uncomfortable for them.

The frightful waste of the Civil War, the wild speculation which followed, the trafficking in legislation to secure franchises to be madly promoted, culminated in six years after Mr. Bliss entered upon business here in the disastrous panic of 1873. Only one like it, that of 1837, had any parallel with us and few had been known in the whole history of finance and commerce. The Stock Exchange closed, banks suspended, mercantile houses went into bankruptcy, and thousands were reduced from affluence to poverty and other thousands saw business which they had spent a lifetime in building up shattered to pieces. A statistician has proved that only one out of two hundred of the men who enter mercantile business in New York survive the strain and competition. The rest sooner or later succumb. But in the panic of 1873 this average of one in two hundred went to a point where it might safely be said that more than two-thirds of the business men came to grief. It was eminently a time of the survival of the fittest. Only level heads who had resisted the speculations in which vast fortunes were made and

lost between the close of the Civil War and the panic, far-sighted brains which had foreseen the storm and prepared for it, were equal to the emergency. It is a tribute to the sagacity of Mr. Bliss, to the standing which he had attained in these few years with the banks, and among his associates and competitors, that he came out of this terrific struggle with his credit enhanced and his position invulnerable.

After that his life as a merchant was one of widening influence and operations. The financial disturbances which shook the country, disturbed business and ruined individuals and firms, growing out of the resumption of specie payments, of the silver craze, of the gold standard, were all foreseen and provided for by this able, accomplished and masterful man. So that years before his death he was, in its best sense, a merchant prince and had so systematized, co-ordinated and perfected his great business that he could give more and more of his time to public affairs and to his duties as a citizen. It is this phase of his career as a public citizen that especially interests us. The New York merchant and business man is proverbially neglectful of civic duties and unwilling to assume the burdens of civic responsibilities.

When I was a young man I was given a dinner by the leading merchants of New York for something which I had done for the city as a Member of the Legislature. I think it was in 1863. Having lived all my life in the country where everybody participates in political activities, I was amazed to discover that of the thirty gentlemen at this table, representing three-fourths of the wealth and great business of the city, not one of them ever voted except in presidential elections, none of them belonged to

political clubs or party organizations. All of them united in vigorous denunciations of the corruptions of public life and the untrustworthiness of men who held public office. These were conditions which they as a united body could have at any time corrected, but they not only refused to serve, they put a ban upon the professional or business activities of those who were willing to enter upon the duties of public life.

Mr. Bliss represented an entirely different class of great merchants. Following the injunction to "Be diligent in business, serving the Lord" meant for him in practice diligence in business as much as any successful man, but he believed the best service he could render to the Lord outside his business duties was active, intelligent and helpful citizenship. He believed that neither his business as a manufacturer and a merchant nor any other would be permanently successful unless a protective tariff, a sound currency and the gold standard was part of the law of the land. He believed that it was his highest duty to labor for the success of the party and the candidates which would secure this legislation. He recognized, as few men did then, but as everybody does now, the intimate relation there is between business and politics. Almost immediately on becoming a resident of our city he joined the local Republican organization. Throughout his whole life he was an organization party man and at the same time a practical reformer. Twice during his career, when the county organization seemed inefficient or corrupt, he organized and headed committees which succeeded in bringing about the necessary reform. With rare courage for one whose business could be so easily affected by municipal legislation and municipal officials, he organized and headed commit-

tees for the purification of the government of this great city.

In all this long and active career, extending over half a century, he never was an office seeker. He believed that office should come to a man and not be solicited. The party wanted at different times so rare a character to strengthen its position by becoming its candidate for the various offices within its gift, but he declined everything except at the earnest solicitation of President McKinley of the Secretaryship of the Interior. The unselfishness of his political activities is best illustrated by the positions which he did take. For four successive Presidential campaigns he was the Treasurer of the National Committee. There is no place in party work which involves so much labor, so much criticism and so little applause. He accepted the treasurership of the National Committee in the second Harrison campaign because he saw that there had come about one of those revulsions in public feeling which might lead to disaster to the party he loved and to the principles he considered essential for the public welfare. The people wanted a change and no effort could check their desire. The change came and he saw in its results all the business disasters which he had been predicting throughout his active life. He saw what he regarded as the greatest bulwark of prosperity of business in the tariff assailed and changed. He saw the closing of mills and multitudes thrown out of employment by results brought about by legislation which he abhorred. When the campaign came for the first election of McKinley he again accepted the treasurership, because he believed that a return to old policies was the salvation of his country and of himself in his business relations. No one contributed more to the success of

President McKinley and the restoration of Republican policies than did Mr. Bliss.

We are a peculiar people. We are fond of experiments in every department of life. We take larger chances in business and greater risks in experiment than any industrial nation in the world. Prosperity does not satisfy us; we want more. Within certain almost defined cycles we as a people need to go to school—the school of experience. A generation comes upon the stage which has forgotten or is too young to remember the teachings of the past. When these periods arrive, and they will in the future as they have in the past, the lesson which is taught by disasters to business, to employment and to every form of activity, will bring about again the practice of the principles which have proved successful and they will prevail until the period of experiment has again arrived.

So, Mr. Bliss, feeling that the first four years of McKinley had not yet consolidated into permanency the measures in which he believed, undertook this same difficult and disagreeable task for the third time and in the Roosevelt campaign for the fourth of Treasurer of the National Committee. He applied to this delicate and perilous position principles upon which he had conducted his own business. The books were perfectly kept and the accounting was complete. Not a breath of suspicion, not a charge of any kind, ever assailed the treasurer in these four great campaigns in which millions were raised, part of it by himself, and all of it passed through his hands.

There is one place in the Cabinet which is in a measure the despair of every President. All others of his advisers but the Secretary of the Interior can win applause and fame. But the Secretary of

the Interior has against him constant pressure, and if he is upright, aggressive and intelligent, he will receive the virulent abuse and misrepresentation of the most powerful interests in the country. Land hunger would sacrifice every right of the Indian and take from him the land upon which he lives and the home in which he dwells. If the Secretary objects he can expect only investigating committees and unlimited abuse. The exploiters of national resources wish to monopolize them and they form syndicates so powerful and backed by so much newspaper support and Congressional influence that if the Secretary of the Interior fails to yield to their demands he becomes the enemy of progress and the foe of the people. A large number of Indian contractors and Indian agents, who engage in practices which are often corrupt and sometimes inhuman, have powerful friends to protect them and easy ways of reaching the public ear against an uncompromising public official. It was to clean this Augean stable that President McKinley summoned to his aid the great reputation, incorruptible integrity, unsurpassed business judgment and executive ability of Cornelius N. Bliss. When this high but disagreeable task had been completed to the entire satisfaction of the President, the Secretary of the Interior asked to be released that he might return to his neglected personal affairs, and at the same time give that large measure which he had always so freely bestowed as a private citizen to the public service.

Gentlemen, we of this Club who met him in the intimacy of this family circle saw in the successful man of business not the uncompromising reformer, not the rigid financier, not the active politician, but the most genial, companionable and lovable of men.

Going to his reward when nearing four score, he has left behind him a superb example for American youth and filled a brilliant page in the history of his country.

## Speech at the Dinner of the New England Society of New York, December 22, 1911, in Response to the Toast: "The Puritan Survival."

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

For over forty years it has been my privilege to attend, more or less frequently, the annual dinners of the New England Society of New York. At these meetings I have heard many admirable presentations in response to Forefathers' Day, but few, if any of them, reached the high level of the speech just delivered by Dr. Frothingham. He has caught and portrayed the spirit of the founders, and its influence in the development of government in succeeding generations, with a comprehensive and broad-minded grasp of the situation which will place in our records a classic and a model. Such an occasion is suggestive with reminiscence. There have been famous nights with this Society of national and international significance. In that period great orators from all over the country have here sprung into fame, increased their reputations or lost them. The finest original wit of our period, who was President, and a frequent speaker, was William M. Evarts. In variety and genius in portraying and arousing emotions and spontaneous eloquence, we had here Henry Ward Beecher. The list would include nearly every man whose name has been associated with American history during the last half century.

I recall one night which was significant, dramatic and historical. The passions of the Civil War were

not wholly dissipated. It was still possible to arouse enthusiasm and to make political capital upon slavery and disunion. General Sherman in an impromptu speech, full of that nervous fire which was his characteristic, threw a picture on the wall of the disbandment of the Union Army, the triumphant march of the soldiers past the President and the return of the veterans to prosperous homes and their various vocations. It was a picture of grand triumph that equalled the historic description of the wonderful processions of Roman conquerors down the Appian Way into the imperial city. A young man from the South came next. He drew a most marvelous and pathetic picture of the Confederate soldiers, beaten but undismayed, ragged and footsore, going back to farms which had been ravaged by the armies of both sides, the fences down, the houses gone, the stock disappeared, and then, speaking as a young man for the new South, he pictured the regeneration which had come in agriculture, in industries, in the development of resources, in the creation of cities, towns, hamlets and homes out of all this misery by these heroes of the same race but inspired by different ideas. By that speech Henry W. Grady leaped into national fame. But these two addresses, one from the great soldier, and the other from the representative of the new South, published everywhere and read in every household, advanced the cause of reunion between the two sections of the country more than could have been accomplished by half a century of discussion and legislation.

In a way this night to which I have referred illustrates the effectiveness of the dominant principles of the Pilgrim idea—"free speech." The Pilgrims were reformers. They were about the only real ones

of their period. Madame Roland, standing at the foot of the scaffold, as she ascended the steps cried out:

"Oh, Liberty! in thy name what crimes are committed."

So reform, which is always popular, is the well-worn ladder of ambition, demagoguery and greed. There is the reformer who quickly grasps the passion of the hour and by fanning it into flame becomes its leader and gets into Congress or higher. There is the other who is part demagogue and part crank and wholly an agitator, who contributes little to the progress of the world; but there is last the man of foresight, courage and patriotism, who is always in advance of his time, not so far ahead but his contemporaries can catch up, but who is far enough to blaze the way and lead them by reason toward light and liberty. To this latter class the Pilgrims preëminently belong. They lived in an age when might made right, when it was considered entirely proper to seize the goods of others if you had the power and needed them. But when the *Mayflower* anchored off Cape Cod and a boat with the explorers went ashore and the Indians fled leaving behind the corn which they had stored for the winter, it was promptly appropriated and taken on board the ship. This was in accordance with the principles of the age. The Pilgrims needed the corn, without it they could not have planted for the next year's harvest, but they left a note saying that they would pay for it whenever the Indians called and presented proper vouchers. The fact that they left no address did not militate against the merit of the case. It was the beginning of that beneficent principle, now recognized everywhere among civilized nations, of the sanctity of property in the hands of the weak.

Though the old rule still prevails in the partition of Africa by the great powers—thank Heaven, this government of the Pilgrims has no part in that expropriation.

In the Pilgrim period all governments had one set of laws for kings and nobles and another for the people, one set of rights for caste and privilege and another for those who had neither. But the Pilgrims in the cabin of the *Mayflower* in their immortal charter said, "We will found a government of just and equal laws." That was a principle which was understandable, and again the Pilgrims were in advance, but not too far in advance, of the period in which they lived and labored. It took a long time, even in our own development, to work out that principle. The Puritan who came afterward to the Massachusetts colonies repudiated it utterly. But there is nothing so dynamic as an idea which has in it the principle of generation and regeneration. Winthrop said, "If all are to be Governors, who is to govern." There being no lawyers, New England existed for a hundred years without lawyers, and as they recognized the necessity of government they confided it to their ministers and created a theocracy. The government of the ministers demonstrated the necessity in the enactment of laws of the assistance of lawyers. They banished Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson because they preached religious toleration, and in banishing them the dynamics of religious toleration began to expand and in less than half a century that had become part of both Pilgrim and Puritan policy.

These hard-headed, hard-working, close-thinking forefathers believed in representative government. Though they had the town meeting, a perfect democracy, for their village and local affairs, yet they

felt that there should be trained men selected and elected to make their laws, so they left it first to the clergy and then selected in their localities the men who could give the time and who were best equipped to be members of the Legislatures and Congress, and to be governors and judges.

In some of the newer States they are getting away from this idea. We are told now that the best government is that which goes to the whole people with all its laws and all its legislation, that the initiative, the referendum and the recall place the people in possession of the power which they have lost through selecting men to be their governors, their judges, their legislators, their mayors and their aldermen.

I met the other night at dinner the Governor of Oregon, the foremost State in putting into practice these policies, a charming, capable and eloquent gentleman. His mission, and that of the Governors, was not political but to make known the products of their States. Of course, one of the most attractive is the Oregon apple. He showed how Oregon reversed her new principle of government by mass meeting in placing apples on the market. The farmers select a committee of experts. The individual farmer is not permitted to market as of old, when his good apples were on top, the moderate ones in the middle and the bad in the rest of the barrel. These experts, representatives of the mass, select the best apples and sell them as such and the second best and sell them as such, and make the rest into hard cider to be drunk in prohibition communities. Now, the distinguished, eloquent and able Senator from Oregon is the best advocate and exponent of the political practices of his State. His view condensed is that the composite citizen, which means the whole mass, is more intelligent for executive duties than

any governor, or for judicial duties than any judge, or for legislation than any legislator, and, therefore, we need only a framework of officers without power or authority to be instructed by this composite man. So, instead of having able executives and learned judges and tried and experienced legislators, these officers are rubber stamps for the composite man. But the composite man, acting as a mass upon subjects that he cannot possibly act upon intelligently if he attends to his business, is necessarily composed of the selected apples, the specked apples and the bad apples. His selection of representatives is usually excellent, but his executive acts, judicial decisions and legislation under such conditions are permeated with the inebriating qualities of the headiest hard cider.

Our forefathers in developing the country left the largest freedom of action to the individual citizen. The common law was the spirit of their jurisprudence and judicial decisions. Their legislation was to promote agriculture and industries and develop resources. They were not equal to the enactment of a Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and would not have understood it if they had been. Shakespeare says, "Some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them." John Sherman was an excellent Senator and a distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, but he would have dropped into the oblivion of Senators and Secretaries of the Treasury out of office and been forgotten except that the trust law which bears his name has kept him before the public more than any statesman of his period and made him immortal. Now comes ex-Senator Edmunds, the distinguished Chairman of the Judiciary Committee which had charge of that bill, perfected, reported and passed

it, and he openly informs us that there is not in it one single line of John Sherman. This is not going to take away the fame of Sherman; resting solely upon a myth it is in no more danger than the name of America though not discovered by Amerigo Vespucci. There is not a single thing about that law which is not Pilgrim or Puritan, but while it affects every industry in the country, it has lain practically dormant for twenty years. The main reason being that nobody really understood it. National Conventions of both parties in their platforms resolved that it must be amended, but it was such a fetish in the public mind that one party was afraid to touch it and the other daren't. It was interpreted at one time to prohibit all big business and restore the country to the retail store, the windmill and the mill pond. That would have prevented all development. It has at other times been differently interpreted. So far as doing business under it was concerned during these twenty years, the business man felt that they were in a position which was described by that famous revivalist at the beginning of the last century, Lorenzo Dow. He preached a sermon in Peekskill, which was a strong Calvinistic neighborhood, the echo of which still lingers in the hills and valleys. In this he said in regard to predestination that its practical effect was "You will and you won't; you shall and you shan't; you can and you can't; you will be damned if you do and you will be damned if you don't." Happily, now the Supreme Court of the United States has shown that it has more courage and more wisdom than Congress, and has declared that the shackles shall be taken away from legitimate and rightful business by interpreting the law according to the light of reason, which

means the common law, and so we get back to the foundation of the Pilgrim Fathers.

It is unfortunate for business that we not only legislate after the horse is stolen, but we permit and encourage first the stealing of the horse. Take the formation of the steel trust, for instance, and I am neither advocating nor defending that corporation. There never was so much publicity with any business. Its magnitude attracted the attention and fired the imagination not only of this country but of the world. The newspapers daily had columns describing the processes of organization, the plants belonging to other corporations and to individuals and firms which were bought and how much was paid for them and what the profits were to the seller and the purchasers. Even Mr. Carnegie, going out of business as he was by that merger, suspended his usual rule of reticence and told the world how much he received for his interests and what, at five per cent, the income would be per year. The subscriptions to the syndicate were public and universally understood and largely participated in. There were no protests in the press; there was not a voice raised in Congress; the judicial machinery of the government was motionless, the calendars of the courts were clean of law suits, and the Sherman Law was on the statute books the same as it is to-day. Now after this great business machinery has got into working order and the stocks are distributed among hundreds of thousands of investors, and nearly three hundred thousand laborers are dependent for the living of themselves and their families upon its operations, it is discovered that it is under the condemnation of the Sherman Law and must be disbanded.

A Yankee, with Puritan ancestors, who was a

stockholder in the Standard Oil Company, came to me the other day for advice. He said, "I hold ten shares in the Standard Oil Company. I now discover that I was at that time a monopolist and a bad citizen. The company has been purged of sin by a reorganization under the direction of the court. It has been divided into thirty-seven different corporations. The interests of the stockholders are widely different in each of these corporations. I have received a notice from one of them that I have a one hundred and seventy-four three hundred and five one-thousandth interest in a share of stock in that corporation, and upon it they have declared a dividend of two dollars a share. Now, I can't figure out what ought to be the size of the check which they will send me or whether it will be right when it arrives. The only thing I do know is that now I am an honest man and patriotic citizen."

My friends, the spirit of Pilgrim liberty is that it recognizes the rewards which come to ability, industry and thrift and has no fear of bigness, unless that bigness is used to monopolize, to restrain or to oppress the little fellow. The true way to meet that situation, the spirit of Pilgrim liberty in which it can be met and must be met if it is to be properly solved, has already been demonstrated in the treatment of the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington and the Public Service Commission in the State of New York. They do not disband the corporations and create confusion, they do not disturb the business world by uncertainties, but vested with the supreme power of the people, they prevent oppression, wrongdoing and favoritism, and promote publicity and enforce a square deal for everybody. The watchword of the future

must be this demonstrated principle of government regulation of all great industries.

The safety valve of free institutions is discussion, publicity and free speech.

I read recently an account of a meeting in some western city of a convention in which they complained by resolution that the West and the South have not a proper place in American history because the Yankees have written all the histories. Well, why? Because they could write histories which people would read. Ink and paper is just as cheap and as plentiful in every part of the country as in New England or New York. Culture is not wholly confined to New England. They have a Browning Society in Chicago. There used to be a weekly luncheon at Parker's Hotel in Boston and around the table were gathered Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Longfellow, Whittier, Judge Rockwell Hoar, Theodore Parker and Hawthorne. The contributions of these authors have made American literature classic and apparently they have no successors. I cannot help thinking that environment and tradition had much to do with their development.

Nothing so promotes and accelerates the expansion of a good idea as persecution. I remember a public meeting in New York addressed by Wendell Phillips. On account of enormous trade interests with the South and prejudice against the negro, there was very little sentiment anywhere in the North for abolition of slavery. Wendell Phillips was the greatest orator to whom I ever listened, and I have heard most of them. Captain Rynders, a Tammany brave of that period, organized a mob to break up that meeting, and succeeded. The story of that riot and the suppression of Phillips' speech

promoted a discussion of slavery all over the country which advanced by more than a half century Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation.

There is not much popular feeling in the United States on behalf of this movement for peace and arbitration, so happily and wisely inaugurated by President Taft. We are too near our war of sentiment for Cuba, and too much absorbed in our business affairs and too distant from any possibility of attack upon ourselves for the people to give much thought to the subject, but when four hundred naturalized citizens, inspired by European and not American politics, broke up the meeting in Carnegie Hall the other evening they gave an irresistible impulse to the demand of the American people for the ratification of these arbitration treaties. The men who broke up that meeting with a riot and suppressed the speeches of our most eminent citizens failed to understand the true meaning of American liberty, free speech and open discussion. A man complained to his neighbor that another neighbor greeted him with a slap on the breast that broke the cigars in his pocket, and he was prejudiced against that sort of affection, but he said, "I'll fix him so he will never do it again. I have replaced the cigars with two sticks of dynamite."

The dynamic force of American liberty is before the world most conspicuously to-day in the young American Shuster, who has been appointed treasurer of the dying kingdom of Persia. The great powers were pacifying Persia apparently to divide her territory when her difficulties became insoluble, but this young American makes a contract with Persia to manage her finances, and soon finds that the country is rich enough with stability to pay its debts and have orderly government. That means a revival of

the Empire of Cyrus the Great under the auspices of a twenty-eight-year-old American. The Russian bear growls, the Cossacks occupy the country, the Czar's ministers say "Shuster must quit or war," and then Shuster, without army, without Cossacks, simply says, "I stand by my contract, and in America such things are respected." In the Persian is revived a spark of patriotism which has lain dormant for five hundred years and he says, "We stand by Shuster no matter what happens," and the English public, who when fully informed admire courage and fair play, are gradually getting behind Shuster.

The cable in this evening's papers is that the Russian Army has forced Persia to dismiss Shuster. It will do more than anything else to keep alive national spirit in Persia and win for her the sympathy of the world.

Now, my friends, how much have we changed? During the Revolutionary War the Duke de Lauzun arrived in Lebanon, Connecticut, with his hussars, a brilliant company composed of young French noblemen. His lieutenants were the Marquis de Chastellux and the Baron de Montesquieu. It was the home of Governor Trumbull. They were there for months. The Yankee girls got up for them picnics, sleigh rides, toboggan slides, skating and every form of New England amusement. The French noblemen enjoyed every minute of it intensely, except that at the banquets Governor Trumbull, according to the Puritan custom, insisted on a half hour of grace before meat. The curious thing about it all is that though these young Frenchmen were the most attractive men of their time and in brilliant uniform and made love as the Yankee never could have done, they did not capture a single American girl. These Yankee girls had only one absorbing

idea and that was the success of the revolution and the formation of the Republic, and they became the mothers of the future governors and legislators and congressmen and judges of New England and of the country. The only difference if conditions were reversed to our time would be that the entertainments would have a different style and be equally enjoyable, but the girls would marry the noblemen. At the same time Sheldon's cavalry passed through Litchfield, Connecticut, on its way to join General Washington. The Reverend Judah Champion immediately opened the Litchfield Church and invited the cavalry in and offered a prayer which he was so proud of that he recorded it in the register. It is too long to repeat entire, but I will give you its spirit. At that time General Howe was on the ocean with reinforcements for General Clinton in New York. The minister petitioned:

"Oh! Lord, we view with terror and dismay the enemies of Thy holy religion. Wilt Thou send storm and tempest to toss them upon the sea and to overwhelm them in the mighty deep and scatter them to the uttermost parts of the earth! But, peradventure, should any escape Thy vengeance, collect them again together, Oh! Lord, as in the bottom of Thy hand, and let Thy lightnings play upon them. We beseech Thee, moreover, that Thou do gird up the loins of these, Thy servants, who are going forth to fight Thy battles. Make them strong men, that one shall chase a thousand, two shall put ten thousand to flight!"

If conditions should be the same in our time would our clergy repeat that prayer? I think not. Instead they might have the same feeling, but they would pray for speedy and honorable peace and a recognition of the efforts of the Red Cross Society.

Gentlemen, to-night the old and the new, the founders and the descendants, commune together. We differ only from our ancestors in the changed conditions of the times, but, happily for the country for its present and its future, the ideas of the Pilgrims are still a constructive force in American progress. The schoolhouse and the church are not yet divorced, but they go together wherever American citizens settle and organize communities. We welcome the stranger fleeing from oppression as our fathers did, but now with the government land exhausted and our population increasing we ask that the barriers be raised higher and higher that there may be no contamination of American citizenship.

## Speech at the Annual Dinner of the Society of the Genesee, at the Hotel Knickerbocker, New York City, January 20, 1912.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

This meeting with the Society of the Genesee is charming both in its relations to the present and the past. In my own varied experience I have found that more pleasure can be had out of a political stumping tour than from any other exercises. For years it was my habit to take my vacation in this way, and start out to interview and inform my fellow citizens of my views of the policies necessary for the safety of the country from the early autumn until the frost was on the pumpkin. Sometimes indeed I have spoken in the early morning to a crowd gathered about the platform of the car in the biting air of Northern New York, with the snow beating upon us all. It was not cold enough, however, to equal the experience of one of the characters in Charles Lever's stories who, in making a speech to his shipmates and to the Esquimaux, found that his words froze and fell upon the ground as they were uttered until he stood up to his chin in a bank of his own eloquence.

But the great value of this contact with the people is the knowledge it gives one of the varying conditions in his State of the different ideas of hospitality and conditions in the commonwealth. It is the best school in the world to study human nature. I have been a guest on these trips in the palatial home of the banker and the manufacturer,

in the farm house of the farmer and the cottage of the artisan, the hospitality of each making the welcome just as agreeable and the hospitality just as enjoyable in one place as the other. It is these trips, continued at intervals for half a century, which have made me believe that the most delightful section through which to travel is the Genesee Valley. There is a finish about its farms; there is a comfort about its homes; there is a general air of contentment and prosperity which is full of inspiration. There is a genuineness in its hospitality which leaves the stump speaker with delightful recollections of people who have entertained him which he rejoices to recall and can never forget.

But, then, every section of the State has its peculiarities and subjects in which it is most interested. Along the northern counties, it is politics; by the Hudson, it is scenery and land speculation; through the Mohawk Valley, it is manufactures; along the southern tier, it is politics again, but in the Genesee Valley, when the public exercises are over and the intimate conversation occurs between the close of the meeting and retiring to bed, it is generally the old families of the neighborhood. I became familiar with the characteristics, peculiarities, distinguishing traits and achievements of all the pioneer families of the Genesee Valley, and the narrator always claimed to be one of them. The idea of old families which has furnished so much material for the reformer and the jester is that the best of them is below ground. This, however, applies in no respect to the old families of Western New York. A royal personage once said to me, "I am told in regard to your countrymen and countrywomen that I may recognize these because of their family and others must be barred because they have

no family. Families with us date away back to early historical times from achievements in arms, from domains won by valor, from leaders of the crusades and from an unbroken ancestry of nobility running back hundreds of years before the discovery of America, while for the life of me I cannot make any distinction among you Americans, except to the extent to which you are companionable and agreeable. On that basis I love to meet and to entertain your countrymen and countrywomen and enjoy their talent, their wit, their humor, their conversational power, the agreeableness of your men and the charm of your women." But there is an old family distinction with us of which we may be proud. It is of the pioneers who settled among the Indian confederacy of the Six Nations and carved out of the wilderness the estates which by their energy and ability they turned into productive farms which added to the wealth and prosperity of the commonwealth. With them the rule of three generations from shirt-sleeve to shirt-sleeve did not prevail. They reared large families of energetic sons and of spirited and fascinating daughters. While some remained upon the farms, others built up the cities and the villages, developed the water powers and created manufactories or went into the professions and became ministers, doctors, lawyers, judges, journalists, legislators and members of Congresses and the Cabinets of Presidents.

I remember being entertained by the local banker in one of these charming places along the Genesee nearly fifty years ago. His conversation was of these pioneer families. He said, "One of the leaders recently died and it is a great loss to our community." He was original in every way and his originality was one of the sources of his great suc-

cess. I went in to see a widow of another one of these pioneers, and she commenced lamenting the loss of her friend. She said, "You do not know how I miss him now that nearly every one of the people with whom I was intimate are dead and gone. He used to come in here nearly every evening and place his chair in front of the fireplace and put his feet on the mantelpiece and light his pipe and talk and sleep and snore and be so sociable."

But what would the Genesee Valley be without its capital at Rochester, in many respects the most beautiful city in the world? The sons and daughters of these pioneers, who had been brought up with plenty of fresh air upon the farm when they established their homes at Rochester, made that city unique in so laying out their lots and building their houses that there was land and a garden about each residence. "The city in the country, and the country in the city" is the evidence of the genius of the founders of Rochester. I always loved in these campaign excursions to wind up in your city. There was something about the dinner beforehand, with the leading men of all parties, in the responsiveness of the audience and in the reception and the supper afterward which made the entertainment the crowning event of the campaign.

The natural pride of the Rochester citizens is always delightful. I remember as we stood on the bank of the gorge where the Genesee flows, when it flows, that the local enthusiast said, "Here is a gorge finer than Niagara. Here is a waterfall of greater height than Niagara. It would in all respects be superior to Niagara if it had water." This reminded me of a story which was told me by that most delightful of wits and raconteurs, the late Mr.

William M. Evarts. He said that stopping at Cape Cod one summer the guests were always complaining of the fishy flavor of the ducks, and the indignant landlord finally said, "Ladies and gentlemen, the Cape Cod duck is a finer duck than the canvasback; its plumage is handsomer; it weighs more; it can fly higher; it can dive deeper, and it would taste just as good if it would eat the wild celery, but, damn him, he won't eat it."

It is the habit of the young graduate to take Rome for his comparisons in all civic addresses. So, what is the difference between Rome, New York, and Rochester? It took ancient Rome five hundred years to annex Attica, to conquer Palmyra and lead her Queen Zenobia at the chariot wheels of the Emperor, to have its legions tramp over the plains of Ilion and to make contributary to its greatness Syracuse and Utica. Ancient Rome made these conquests by the sacrifice of millions of lives and slaughter and devastation which make the most ghastly volumes of history, but Rochester has, within fifty years almost, by methods of peace and regeneration, drawn to her marts of trade and her centers of commerce the production and the citizens of Attica and Palmyra and Ilion, and even drawn from the commercial walls which surround Syracuse and Utica a part of their commerce and their trade and annexed to her triumphal car even Rome itself. Happily the engineer who surveyed the wilderness of Western New York was a classical scholar. He saw in imagination the glories of the ancient world reproduced in America. So he dotted his map with these classic names for future cities, and they are all within a hundred miles of Rochester.

Rochester has a distinct connection with my relations to one of the episodes and tragedies of

American public life. I allude to the candidacy and the tragic death of Horace Greeley. I had retired from politics in 1872 with the determination to make up in my profession what I had lost in office when Mr. Greeley, who was my neighbor in the country, came one night to my house. He said, "Chauncey, I have been nominated for President by the Liberal Republicans. I cannot win except I get the indorsement of the Democrats. I am told that if I can demonstrate, which I believe to be true, that the majority of the Republican party is with me, that then I will receive the Democratic indorsement and will be elected President by the largest vote ever cast since Washington. In order to demonstrate my Republican following, my friends have organized a mass meeting at Rochester which they say will be entirely Republican, and will include all the leaders of that overwhelmingly Republican section of our State, Western New York. Now, it is necessary to have a speaker of State and National reputation, and they have selected you." "Well," I said, "Mr. Greeley, I have retired from politics; besides, it goes tremendously against me to break with my party, and I never have done it." He said, "Chauncey, I have supported you every time you were elected to the Legislature and while there and while Secretary of State and in all your ambitions with all my strength in the Tribune, and I did not think I would be treated in this way." That was too much for me. I said, "Very well, Mr. Greeley, I will go." The meeting was held in that auditorium with the best acoustics in the country, Corinthian Hall. The crowds jammed the streets for blocks. The meeting was presided over by Judge Henry R. Selden of the Court of Appeals, one of the best loved Republicans in our common-

wealth. There were a hundred Vice-Presidents and a hundred Secretaries whom I had met in every campaign since '56 as the Republican leaders in all the counties in Western New York. The meeting was such a phenomenal success that Mr. Greeley's friends secured without trouble the Democratic indorsement for his nomination as a Liberal Republican. In October North Carolina went Republican. In November, all of these men went back to their allegiance to the Republican candidate. General Grant was elected by the largest majority known up to that period. That was the first progressive movement in the great parties of our country since the organization of the government. History so frequently repeats itself that what happened once is most likely to occur again. I commend this instance to the cheerful consideration of our guest of honor here to-night, President Taft.

When I recall your attractive city, the exquisite beauty of your valley, and particularly the homelikeness of your villages and farms, I wonder how so many of you escaped and came to New York. Is it the fascination of Wall Street, or the attractions of the Great White Way? I know from my own experience as a country boy that there is no escape once within the sphere of their influence, of the lure of the crowd and the lights of the Metropolis. But I think that you rather have come here upon philanthropic missions in order that the lambs of our city may be fed upon the invigorating fodder—the stocks and bonds—of your trolley, your water power and your electric light companies.

We are here of all politics, and of no politics, but as a retired statesman calmly surveying the field and holding the scales in equipoise for the present,

I must say that it seems to me inexcusable cruelty that the peace-loving, distinguished and erudite college professor Woodrow Wilson should be assailed at the same time on either side by two of the most militant colonels in the country, Colonel Roosevelt and Colonel Bryan.

We are business men here to-night, away from its cares and responsibilities to dwell a while in imagination in our rural homes. As business men, without regard to politics, present or future, with the President of the United States here as the guest of honor, we can thank him for many things which he has done in the best interests of the country. Upon the tariff rests all our industries. Any disturbance of it is sure to lead to uncertainty and uncertainty ends in panics, and yet in the changing conditions of our industrial life, changes of the tariff are inevitable and must come. I have gone through one struggle in the Senate in tariff framing or tariff measure, and know that it is not a scientific revision of schedules but a game of chance and governed largely by the ability and the power of the various interests of the country. We can thank the President that in spite of the opposition of high protectionists and of free traders he has secured a Tariff Board of experts; that he has appointed such a board without regard to political associations or affiliations, and that now in the revision of the tariff we can have the recommendations of this expert commission upon different schedules as the question arises instead of a general disturbance of the whole business of the country upon every item of manufacture and production. As business men we are interested in finance and currency. We know that millions are locked up in secret places in the homes of the people because they fear the

banks, and there that currency becomes the prey of robbers and of fires. We know also that foreigners working here and not understanding our institutions transmit many more millions of currency a year to their homes. We can thank President Taft that by unremitting effort and against the objections of localities that want every dollar kept where it was produced he has secured the Postal Savings Banks, which will not only aid the people, but keep at the service of the government millions, mounting higher every year, which before were never available.

We have had upon the statute book for twenty years the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It has received various interpretations. The lawyers could not agree upon it and business men were in doubt as to whether they were violating the law or living up to its requirements. With the ability of a great lawyer, with the calmness of a great judge, with the courage of a great executive, the President has forced through the courts to an ultimate decision from our highest tribunal an interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which is practicable and sensible. Now business knows what it can do and what it cannot do, and business does not care so much what it is prevented from doing or what it is permitted to do so long as it knows the law. We of all parties can thank the President, also that in no respect has he shown so much that he is the President of the whole people as in the selections which he has made for that highest tribunal upon which depends more than in any other department of our government the strength and stability of our institutions and the prosperity of the country. I mean the Supreme Court. He has had the courage,

because he was best fitted for the place, to make a Democrat and a Confederate soldier Chief Justice. He has had the courage and open-mindedness to place both Democrats and Republicans upon that bench, governed only by their qualifications and their ability to fill this great place.

## Speech at the Celebration of the Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States, made February 6, 1778, being the First Treaty ever made by the United States. Café Martin, New York City, February 6, 1912.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

It is characteristic of the dramatic gift peculiarly possessed by the French that you should gather here to-night to bridge the interval of one hundred and thirty-four years between 1778 and 1912. The interval comprises the best history of the world. It has contributed more to civil and religious liberty, to the elevation of peoples, to popular sovereignty, to advancement in the arts and sciences by invention and discovery, than all the preceding ages of recorded time.

For our purpose to-night, and I think legitimately for conclusions anywhere, the inception of this marvelous age can be traced to 1778. We touch the button, and the cinematograph begins to develop the figures of the immortals. There pass in review Washington and Lafayette, Rochambeau and General Greene, de Grasse and John Paul Jones, while standing beyond are the French Foreign Minister de Vergennes and Benjamin Franklin preparing the treaty which made possible the independence of the American Colonies and the creation of the Republic of the United States. We turn from the films of the cinematograph to the pages of history. All Europe at that time was governed by the principle of absolutism in the throne.

While in the American Colonies the struggle for two years had been characterized by a succession of defeats for the patriots, the loss of the Atlantic seaboard, with New York and Philadelphia; the flight of the Continental Congress to sit first in one village and then another; the credit of the young nation hopelessly impaired, its currency worthless, its treasury empty, its munitions of war almost exhausted and the army under Washington encamped at Valley Forge, the blood-stained tracks of the feet of the shoeless soldiers upon the snow illustrating the desperate state of affairs. While the victory at Saratoga the year before had helped us with many continental nations and had greatly encouraged our people, yet without assistance from abroad the revolution was practically ended. The story of nations as well as of individuals demonstrates that God in his infinite wisdom tries men by fire before trusting them with power. The trial had demonstrated the stuff of which our forefathers were made and showed that capacity for sacrifice without which there can be neither manhood nor patriotism. Said Lord North to Benjamin Franklin, our commissioner at that time in London, "How can so wise a man as you advise your countrymen to engage in this hopeless revolution when we have the power to burn down all your towns and destroy your industries?" Franklin answered, "My Lord, all I possess in the world is in houses in those towns. You can set fire to them and burn them to the ground to-morrow, and you will only strengthen my determination to advise my countrymen to fight if you continue in your present policy." That was the spirit which reached France and brought about the famous treaty of February, 1778. The effect of that treaty was

extraordinary. The English Cabinet heard of it and immediately sent proposals of the most liberal kind to Governor Tryon of New York to be presented to the Continental Congress. The Governor sent them to General Washington with a request that they be presented to Congress and also placed in the hands of every soldier in the army. That was so transparent an effort to sap the patriotism of the Continental troops by the prospect of peace that Washington, confident on his side, wrote back to the Governor, "Every soldier has a copy of your proposition and Congress is considering it." Congress said to Washington, "What do you advise?" Washington's answer was characteristic: "No negotiations and no communications until the army and the fleet are withdrawn and our independence recognized." The treaty with France arrived and was immediately ratified by the Continental Congress. The French under Count de Grasse appeared in our waters and the French army, under Rochambeau, was soon afoot on our land. Munitions of war were furnished and a credit supplied by France which brought the revolution to a successful close two years afterward.

Just now there is a wide spirit of agitation, fomented by flaming oratory, against leaders and organization. We are told that progress has been impeded, delayed and at times paralyzed by reliance at different periods upon so-called great men. There is nothing new under the sun. It is only another picture, suited to another period, by a twist of the kaleidoscope with the same old glass inside. We had in this very year, 1778, an experiment. It is known in history as the "Conway Cabal." It had its origin in hatred of the demonstrated superiority in every element of leadership

of General Washington. It proposed to subject him to the referendum and recall. Its purpose was to put in his place General Gates and a staff composed of malcontents. Gates, as was proven when subjected to trial, was a monumental egotist of showy but not substantial ability. The battle of Saratoga, which gave him his fame, had been won by the careful preparations of General Schuyler (who was removed by the machinations of Gates) and by the desperate bravery of Benedict Arnold. If the conspiracy had succeeded, and the referendum and the recall had removed Washington and put Gates and Conway and Lee in supreme charge, we would not be here to-night. But, happily, it failed, and the whole world now recognizes that there was one supreme leader who could have carried us safely through the revolution, and that was George Washington.

Our country has reached its present position of peace, power and happiness because trained statesmen have been deemed by our people to be better fitted to enact our laws with the deliberation, the study and experience which are the characteristics of representative government, than to have them made by the passion of the hour and the voice of the agitator willing to fire the Temple of Ephesus if it may lead to power and fame for himself.

But how came France, absolutely ruled by aristocratic power, to give assistance at this critical hour to a revolt against kingly authority? Again comes to the mind the man of born leadership. This time it is the man of ideas. No man contributed so much to the creation of government as it is to-day as Jean Jacques Rousseau, a genius with marvelous gifts. His teachings proved that no mat-

ter how wonderful the power or attractive the presentation of false ideas—

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> While error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies among its worshipers."

Rousseau caught on to the questioning spirit of the age and presented atheism in more fascinating garb than ever before, but the resistless force of the truths of Christianity crushed his crusade. He brought all his powers to the propagation of the doctrine of free love and the lack of obligation in the marriage tie, but the eternal foundations of the family remained unchanged. He proclaimed the truth, then unknown and unrecognized, that government can exist only by consent of the governed. This was the dynamite which had lain dormant for ages. It led to the French Revolution, until it worked its way to the creation of republican France of to-day. The court of Louis, tired of frivolity and wearied of gayety, turned to this idea of Rousseau as a toy to give freshness to fagged intellects and interest to vapid conversation, but in many minds it found lodgment, even at the court, and sent Lafayette to the United States. But there was another figure whose presence, whose equipment, whose marvelous sense, helped beyond description Rousseau's idea at the court, and that was Benjamin Franklin. Printer, writer, statesman, Quaker, he is the most picturesque character of this period of revolution. The principle of non-resistance which lies at the foundation of the faith of the Quaker is often the most dangerous weapon of offense and defense. When Franklin, representing the colonies in London, was summoned before the

Privy Council, Lord Widdeburne assailed him with abuse, ribaldry, and insult, which was received by the peers in the Privy Council with loud shouts of laughter and approval. Franklin, who had been doing wonderful service in the effort to reconcile the difference between the mother country and the colonies, and had met every rebuff with explanation of the conditions existing in America, which turned out afterward to be true, felt that he had this time been pressed beyond endurance. Instead of fighting or giving insult for insult he simply remarked that he had just bought a court suit, but he had never put it on and he would never wear it until he felt assured of the absolute independence of the colonies. He went home and did more than any other man to bring the colonies together to act in unison for the creation of an independent government. He laid the suit away in camphor, but ten years afterward, when he had won the support of France, he wore it at the French court in celebration of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which had just been signed and which assured the independence of the colonies.

Franklin was welcomed by the philosophers, then popular at court, because he was the discoverer of electricity and had brought lightning from the clouds. He was welcomed by the ladies of the court because, though seventy years of age, he was himself a dynamo of resistless attraction. The young wits made fun of him; the young littérateurs caricatured him; the fops made him the butt of their sallies at the suppers and over the wine, but found to their amazement that this man of three score and ten in the tournament of love had unhorsed them all, and all the women were anxious to receive from him the crown of love and beauty. Franklin, the

printer's apprentice, found his reward and fame in his own time and, illustrating the dynamic power and resistless force of the idea which we are considering, Bunyan, the tinker, after more than a century, goes from Bedford Jail to Westminster Abbey.

Now, I said there was nothing new under the sun. The Continental Congress were so elated by the treaty and the arrival of the French forces by land and sea that they turned aside from the war measures which had been their sole occupation to send a message to the Legislatures of the several States, on October 12, 1778, advising them to take measures for the suppression of theatrical entertainments, horse racing, gaming and such other diversions as were producing dissipation and general depravity of principles and morals. It is needless to say none of the Legislatures acted upon this advice. General Washington, after he retired from the Presidency, left Mount Vernon to attend a horse race at Philadelphia at which he had entered one of his blooded steeds. Theatrical entertainments are now more popular than ever, but gambling has been placed under the ban of the law, and, in our State, horse racing was abolished two years ago.

Another illustration: The movement for the emancipation of women, beginning in laws affecting their separate property in 1848, has continued until now, there is a wide and almost successful effort to grant them equal rights with men in the suffrage, in office holding, in jury duty, and in Germany this year in militarism, and in every duty of the citizen. It was in this pregnant twelve months which constitute 1778 that at the Battle of Monmouth Molly Pitcher was carrying water to her husband, who

was a gunner of a battery of one piece of artillery. He was killed and the lieutenant proposed to remove the piece out of danger, when Molly said, "I can do everything that my husband could," and she performed her husband's duties with that old gun better than he could have done. The next morning she was taken before General Washington, her wonderful act was reported and its influence upon the fate of the battle, which was a victory, and Washington made her at once a sergeant in the army to stand on the rolls in that rank as long as she lived.

Eloquence has been exhausted and poetry has received its finest inspiration in portraying the heroism of Latour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France, who fell on his one hundredth battlefield, having won as a private soldier the title of the bravest of the brave. He won more—a decree that forever at the roll call his name should be called and a sergeant should step forward and say, "Dead upon the field of honor."

It seems appropriate now for us to place among the immortals and in the Hall of Fame this only woman sergeant of the United States Army who won her title fighting for her country upon the field of battle and who is the evangel of woman's rights and woman's enfranchisement.

Our celebration of this treaty here to-night, with the presence of the distinguished Ambassador of France, has its charm and significance. But the first celebration of the treaty was more dramatic and more significant. Every American schoolboy knows the story of the horrors of that winter of famine and of cold at Valley Forge. The spring and summer make of that beautiful valley a Paradise on earth. The treaty was ratified on the second

of May by the Congress, and on the sixth it was celebrated at Valley Forge by the Continental Army with a grand banquet, the army having come out of the winter of despair into the bright sunshine not only of hope, but of certainty through the friendship of France. The feasts in those days began at twelve or three o'clock, and that for a century afterward was the dinner hour in the United States in the best circles. There were toasts and speeches. They could afford to waste ammunition in salute, because plenty was coming from France. At five o'clock Washington retired with his staff. The cheers followed him for a quarter of a mile and were frequently returned by the Commander-in-Chief and the officers wheeling about and responding with cheers. The words shouted by the army and the toasts of that day have, happily, been preserved. The first toast responded to with the wildest enthusiasm was "Long live the King of France," "Long live friendly European powers," "Huzza! for the American States," and then, the whole army rising, "Long live General Washington!"

There is a growing feeling in our country against the continuance of ambassadors and ministers abroad. It is alleged that with the cable all critical matters are discussed and settled between the foreign ministers of the several countries without the intervention of our representatives. I do not think that ambassadors will ever be abolished. The impersonal can never take the place of the personal. Everything in the end comes back to the man and his fitness for the particular duty which he has assigned to him. The ambassador is the representative not only of his government but of his people. He has the power, and if he possesses the ability, he promotes as the cold type of the formal message

never could, friendship and good fellowship between the people of his country and the people of the country to which he is accredited. The ambassador generally represents his period in his own land. In Washington's time France sent here Citizen Genet; in our day, Ambassador Jusserand. Citizen Genet represented the spirit of the terror in the French Revolution. He proceeded to stir up the country by speeches at banquets and town meetings in favor of an alliance with France against Great Britain in the long journey that he made before he arrived at Philadelphia and presented his credentials. He demanded of Washington an alliance, offensive and defensive, and a declaration of war against Great Britain. Washington saw that such an act at that time, with France fully engaged in a battle with all Europe, would only lead to forces coming over from Canada and ships entering our ports when our young Republic had no money, very little credit and had been exhausted by the Revolutionary War. But the memory of the friendship of France stirred up popular enthusiasm for Citizen Genet's proposition. When he found Washington could not be moved, he tried a referendum to the American people and a recall. If at that time these two propositions had been in existence there is no doubt but what by an enormous majority war would have been declared against England, an alliance would have been made with the leaders of the French Revolution and Washington would have been recalled from the presidency, and the most violent men placed in the presidential chair. However, the referendum and recall had not then materialized into laws and Washington summarily dismissed the minister by demanding his immediate recall. Within six months the whole country, with greater

unanimity even, had recovered from the craze which Citizen Genet had created and stood solidly behind the policy of General Washington.

A century and a quarter have passed and the French Republic has here again a citizen who represents the genius of the institutions of his country, the aspirations of his people and their sentiments toward us. He carries his mission to the President. If he succeeds both nations rejoice. If he fails, he has not attempted to recall by a referendum either Roosevelt or Taft. But his failures are only delays. In the end he always wins. Writing histories in English which become classics of our literature, and speaking in our tongue, with the eloquence, aptness and finish which make his addresses a model for the American student, Ambassador Jusserand is that happy combination which is the supremest result of gifted diplomacy—an American in America and yet always a Frenchman.

A living memorial of President Taft's administration will be the arbitration treaties he so happily conceived. For their acceptance the President has had no more efficient co-worker than the French Ambassador.

Gentlemen, may it be the good fortune of France and the United States to always have at Washington such an Ambassador. May this celebration inaugurated here to-night be followed by the passage by the Senate of the treaty of perpetual arbitration with France, and may this day find happy expression in public celebrations for all the future both in France and the United States.

*(Stenographically Reported)*

## Speech at the Twenty-sixth Annual Lincoln Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, in Commemoration of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 12, 1912.

*Mr. Bannard, President of the Club:*

About four hours ago I was informed that both General Wood and Colonel Goethals had been detained in Washington by the Committee of Military Affairs, and could not possibly be with us. You can imagine what I did. I rang up a certain gentleman than whom no one is better known in the United States, and told him that our mortality of speakers was forty per cent. I threw myself on his neck, so far as the telephone would permit (laughter), and when he said he would consider it, I could have hugged him, if the telephone had indulged me. I shall be his friend for life, and I want to introduce the best speaker in the world, and I will give you just one guess as to who it is. Senator Depew. (Great cheers and applause.)

Mr. Depew:

*Mr. President:*

For a man who congratulated himself that he was going to attend a dinner and hear the President and great orators, that he had no responsibilities, that he should enjoy what was offered, both in the

solid and fluid without stint, when he is sitting preliminary to that, alongside of his wife as she is taking her tea at six o'clock, to receive a telephone message like the one which has just been reported by our presiding officer to speak within an hour in the place of two of the most distinguished men in the country, is enough to disturb a nervous man. (Laughter.)

General Garfield once said to me, "You cannot take too many chances without hurting your reputation." (Laughter.) "No man who has made a reputation should attempt to speak unless he has been notified long before and had ample opportunity for preparation, and some day, if you keep this up, you will make a speech, on a short call, and the failure of it will be so phenomenal that it will end the reputation of a lifetime." (Laughter.) Remembering that, last summer I called a classmate of mine, and he compiled eight volumes of my speeches, and so I can say, as did Daniel Webster, or somebody else—I don't remember who—"The past, at least, is secure." (Great laughter and applause.)

When a man speaks extemporaneously, he is apt to be apologizing for it for some time afterwards. There have been distinguished examples of that in our recent history. (Laughter.) I remember the charming lady who was doing the best she could, distributing tracts before she got on the platform to speak, and in handing one to a cabby, he said to her, "Excuse me, Miss, I am happily married, and I don't believe in divorce"; and the tract was "Abide with me." (Great laughter.)

I was pleased with the speech of our President, Mr. Bannard, in which, after complimenting everybody who came here to this entertainment, he said that "without the inspiration of the woman, where

would we be?" Look at him, look at him, at his time of life, and he is not married yet! (Laughter and applause.)

Now, an occasion like this necessarily leads to a comparison between the past and the present. The first speech I ever heard Mr. Lincoln make, was the one that he did not make. It was at Peekskill. (Laughter.) The whole population had gathered for the ten minutes in which he was to address us on his way to Washington. The local celebrity, who had been in Congress with him, represented the people for the welcoming speech, and before the welcoming speech was concluded, the train moved off with Mr. Lincoln laughing.

In 1864, there devolved upon me, as Secretary of State, the duty of collecting soldiers' votes, because the Legislature was Republican, and the Governor, Horatio Seymour, was a Democrat, and so they didn't give it to the Governor. I stayed three months in Washington, and Stanton, Secretary of War, refused to give me the information necessary to reach the New York soldiers in the field with ballots. New York had over 300,000 soldiers scattered over the South. In great rage, after being roughly turned down by Stanton, I was going out of the War Office one afternoon, when I met Elihu B. Washburn, who at that time was the special representative and most intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln. I told him what was the matter, and he said, "What are you going to do?" I said, "I have got to clear my own skirts. I am going to New York to publish in the papers that the administration will not give me the localities where the New York troops are, and so they cannot vote." He said, "Look here, Depew, that beats Lincoln." "Well," I said, "then give me the voters' addresses."

He said, "You don't know Abe. He is a great President, but he is also a great politician, and if there was no other way of getting those votes, he would go around with a carpet bag, and collect them himself." (Laughter.) Within an hour I was summoned into the presence of a changed Secretary of War, so polite that I didn't know him, and on the midnight train I went off with the locations of the troops. The cause of this quick transformation was the sudden appearance of the President in the War Office with a message so emphatic that the roaring lion became the most serviceable of lambs.

There has been much criticism about a President working, while he is in office, for reëlection, but here is the example, after fifty years, of the man whom we are celebrating here to-night, who would have gone around with a carpet bag to collect the votes if there was no other way of getting them. And I am sure our President, Mr. Taft, is justified in doing what he can in that line, as he did so magnificently in his speech here to-night. (Great applause.) It certainly is dramatic for one who has that recollection of the year preceding the presidential election of Mr. Lincoln, to again, nearly fifty years afterwards, be in the hall with a President, the year before his reëlection (great applause), with the conditions virtually unchanged. It reminds me that possibly nothing changes in this world. Certainly, in my long experience in public life, I have found that nothing changes in the fundamentals; the change is only in the scenery, the surroundings, and the dramatic effect.

We celebrated in December, the landing of the *Mayflower*. Why? Because, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, was enunciated that charter which first gave the principle of equality of all men before the

law. We celebrated here, this last week, the first treaty ever made by the United States, the treaty with France which gave to us Lafayette, Rochambeau, and deGrasse, and the French army and the French navy, and the credit and munitions of war, which enabled us to win our independence. We celebrate to-night Mr. Lincoln and his administration of fifty years ago, and we will celebrate, on the twenty-second of this month, Washington's Birthday, with all that it means. Last summer I was in France, and I went out one Sunday to Versailles, where all Paris goes, and I accompanied the crowd as they walked through that marvelous palace of Louis XIV, and as they paused in the rooms, full of memories of Napoleon, the Empress Josephine, and Marie Antoinette, what struck me more than anything else, accustomed as I have been, all my life, to go to historic places in America where there was enthusiasm and reverence, was that those people went by as sightseers and tourists, because Versailles, with its memories of the Bourbon kings, and Napoleon, of an absolute autocracy, and an empire, conveyed nothing to them. Their memories were only of the thirty-odd years of the republic.

But we are what we are to-day because of our traditions, and our traditions never change: the traditions of equality before the law enunciated in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the traditions of the Declaration of Independence in Independence Hall, the traditions of Washington and what he stood for and what he accomplished, and to-night, the traditions of what Lincoln stood for. We are here now as a Republican club, and Lincoln was a Republican President. All sides of him have been superbly presented. The tribute which President Taft paid was finely said and deserved, that he was the President

of all parties; and that beautiful tribute, so eloquent and appreciative, by the orator of the evening, as to Lincoln's characteristics, from a Southern man, was equally deserved. But Lincoln was a partisan, and a Republican. We are here to-night as partisans and Republicans, most of us.

Lincoln stood for what? For the questions of his day. Have they changed? They have changed only in form. We have not the slave labor question any longer, but we have labor questions which are to be decided upon broad principles, as Lincoln would have decided them if they had arisen in his time. He had to provide revenue for the purpose of supporting the army and navy and carrying on the Government. He had to develop the resources of the country which would support the people here, if we won, and while we were fighting. Now, what did he do? He inaugurated and carried through the most drastic measure of protection of American industries that any President ever suggested. It was full protection, not so high but that it furnished revenue, and yet high enough to cause the development of one industry after another, and to continue to the laboring man of this country that measure of wage which makes him more independent, and with greater possibilities and hopefulness than ever existed before in any country in the world. (Applause.)

We come down to our own time, and we have meeting us, and meeting President Taft, very much the same things that met Lincoln, so far as the fundamentals are concerned, or the principles upon which we fight. And I want to say, as a veteran campaigner, who has stumped this country for different Presidents for fifty-six years (applause), that the speech of forty minutes made here to-night by

President Taft will be the text-book of the campaign. We will all copy from it, we will all take texts from it, and we will make the welkin ring all over the country with the achievements of the Taft Administration which it merits and the promises it contains, and if it results, as it ought to, in his election next November, we will say, "Taft, you did it!" (Great cheers and applause, and cries of "Hear, hear!")

I was reading to-night in an English paper the speech made by Shuster in London (applause), and it was a renewal of faith in the great principles for which Lincoln stood, for which Washington stood, and for which every statesman in America who is successful must stand. He says, in effect, "I went to Persia, commissioned to put her finances in order. I found universal corruption. I found the money was ample, but it was all diverted to the personal use of grafters, from royalty down. I said to the first constituent assembly, elected by the people, that Persia ever had in all her history, from the time of Cyrus the Great, "Will you give me power to do as I have a mind to? And they said 'Yes' unanimously. I found there was money enough for all purposes, and I began to collect it, and to apply it to the legitimate purposes of the resurrection of Persia, so that she could stand upon her liberal principles, and go ahead, when Russia suddenly said, 'That is not what you are here for; what we want is demoralization and bankruptcy, because that is our opportunity to seize Persia.'"

Well, my friends, contrast that with the principles that have been at the bottom of American policies in treating with other countries. Contrast it with our treatment of the Philippines, of Cuba, of

Hawaii, contrast it with what we did when one of the greatest of our secretaries of state, our own club member, Elihu Root, made his famous visit, as Secretary of State, to the Southern Republics. (Applause.)

Somebody says—I don't know who; Governor Black, with his marvelous memory will recall it—that there will never be anything but war tumult and revolution south of the Gulf of Mexico, but the policy of the American Government, under Roosevelt, and under Taft, is giving to those American republics on the Isthmus and in South America, greater stability than ever before, because we stand behind them and say, "We don't want your territory, we don't want an inch of your land, we don't want any influence with you except to protect you under the Monroe Doctrine, but what we do demand is that you shall work out your own salvation on the eternal principles of our Declaration of Independence and of the charter of equal laws of the *Mayflower* and due regard for your international obligations." (Applause.) And that is dollar diplomacy!

Lincoln was President fifty years ago; Taft is President to-night. Lincoln was a candidate for reëlection fifty years ago; Taft to-night is a candidate for reëlection. What is the difference between the two men? Mr. Taft is the product of the school and the college. He is the product of the best culture America can give. He is the product of the training which has given him that judicial mind which has enabled him to decide more questions than almost any other President in my time, and decide them right; which has enabled him to present more constructive and progressive legislation, and secure it, than most Presidents, and yet, as a

scholar and a judge, he lacks the faculty of advertisement and a brass band. (Laughter and applause.) If he had those two qualities, he would be resistless. Every dead wall in the country, and every farmer's fence, and every home, would be filled with pictures and flaming eloquence which would indicate that the salvation of every man, woman and child, had been secured, built up and riveted, and with another term would be fenced in and whitewashed over head, and nothing more could be done by any human being. (Laughter.)

We come to Lincoln. He was a different man. No one in any country ever started life so unpromisingly as Abraham Lincoln. Nothing equals the poverty and hopelessness of a poor white cabin in the South, and especially at that time. And yet he came out of that, for there was in him the wonderful genius which nobody can account for. You can't account for Milton or Shakespeare. You can't account for Lincoln. The first books he got hold of, he read over and over. First was the Bible, next "Pilgrim's Progress," and next "Æsop's Fables," and next Weem's "Life of Washington." Those made him a story teller, because Weem's "Life of Washington" has probably within its pages more stories that never happened to Washington, than any book ever written. (Laughter.) In Weem's "Life of Washington," you find the cherry tree story, and nowhere else. (Laughter.) And yet that lie has done infinite good to all the youths of the country (laughter), because it was a fundamental lie in the defense of the truth. "Æsop's Fables" furnished him with stories. I found out this about Lincoln, that he never argued anything. He simply told a story, or else cracked a joke, but it met the thing on all fours, so that if you were on the oppo-

site side, you had nothing to say. (Laughter.) My old friend, John Ganson, the ablest lawyer we had in Western New York, was a war Democrat, and he supported Mr. Lincoln. He was a fine looking, very dignified man, with a very impressive appearance and way of talking, and he had not a spear of hair on his head or anywhere about his face. He went up one day, he told me, to Mr. Lincoln, when things looked very bad at the front, and everybody was discouraged, and he said, "Mr. President, you know, sir, that I am a war Democrat. I am leaving my party to support your measures, because I believe in the country first and the party next. Now, things look very bad at the front, and I think, with this relation to you and your administration, I ought to know just how things are. How are they, sir?" Mr. Lincoln looked at him for a minute, and then said, in his quizzical way, "Ganson, how clean you shave!" (Great laughter.) There was a party of New York financiers who went down to Washington, and the New York financier is a mighty able man—in Wall Street. But he sees the present, and he wants to provide for that. The financial situation was frightful, because gold was so reduced in volume and at an unprecedented premium. They said: "Mr. President, we are here representing the financial interests in the financial center of the country, and we think that the best thing to do is to take the gold out of the treasury and give it to the people." But Mr. Lincoln knew that what little gold there was in the treasury was all the basis the country had for its credit, and the enormous volume of paper currency which had been put out. Did he argue that question with those financiers? No, he knew they would beat him out of sight in an argument, but he said to them: "Gentlemen, out in

Illinois, when I was practicing law, the farmers were troubled because of a disease among the hogs that was carrying them off and likely to destroy the whole of that industry. Someone suggested that the way to cure the hogs was to cut off their tails. So they cut them off, and they were cured. The next year the same disease came back, but they all died because they had no tails." (Great laughter and applause.)

No man recovers from his environment and the influences of his birth, and the associations of his childhood, no matter how great may be his opportunities afterwards, no matter how wonderful the culture that has come to him, nor how supreme his ability to take advantage of them. The environment of his humble home will always cling to him, and always be in evidence. Lincoln passed the whole of that formative period of his life among a frontier people. He had singular and original experiences. He loved to be down at the country store, or the bar room of the village tavern, although he never drank, and there exchange stories and listen to stories among those adventurous and original people. That bar room was the neighborhood club in those days. He loved to go around the circuit, and when they reached the country towns, they all stopped at the same hotel, and they stayed up all night—the judge and the lawyers and the witnesses, and the grand and petit jury men—swapping these experiences. I asked him once, "Where do you get so many stories?" And he told me that it was in this way that I have just described. So he got into the habit, much to the disgust of Chase, who was a "turvy drop," and of other people around him, of meeting questions with these stories, most of which are not in print. (Laughter.)

On the other side, there was another Lincoln formed on his daily reading of the Bible, which he knew by heart, and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," which he knew by heart. The English language, in its noblest form as it is to-day, has been formed by the King James version of the English Bible. It has been literature, pure and undefiled, which has given to our writers, in the English tongue, their distinction, and inspiration. That formed Lincoln's style. It also formed the basis from which he built up those principles of eternal truth which led to the Emancipation Proclamation, which led also to his infinite charity, which would have eradicated many evils had he lived to go through his second term. It was the education from this foundation which gave to the world those two imperishable productions, that oration which will live forever, the Gettysburg speech, and that finest State paper ever written by a President, and which never can be copied, Lincoln's second inaugural address. (Great applause.)

## Speech at the Celebration by the New York State Society of the Cincinnati of the One Hundred and Eightieth Birthday of George Washington, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 22, 1912.

*Comrades of the Cincinnati:*

It is eminently fitting that this Society should celebrate the birthday of its founder, General George Washington. One hundred and eighty years have passed since his birth. The story of that century and three-quarters, or at least the last century of it, is the most illuminating and inspiring cycle of recorded time. It is our pride and satisfaction as Americans that to marvelous development, uplift and progress of civil and religious liberty in this century no one contributed so much as George Washington.

It is a happy result of the continuance of this patriotic order that there has been a revival of the study of the origin of our institutions, of the formation of the Republic and of the lives and characters of the founders.

There are many other patriotic societies celebrating this day who have come into existence within the last half century, and who are doing admirable work in the education of the citizen by furnishing him with the inspirations of the past. In my close connection for many years with education, as Regent of the University of the State of New York for thirty years, and a member of the Corporation of Yale University for twelve years, I have been deeply interested in the work of the common schools, academies and colleges. I have found that one

great defect is in the inadequate attention given to American history. Many of the wild theories, which now attract the young and in the guise of reform seem to promise far better results than any which have been secured in the past, would never have taken such hold upon the imagination if there had been careful and systematic instruction in the history of our Republic and of the principles which lay at its foundation. I doubt if the majority in any high school or college of the country, if called upon on this day to pass an examination upon the life, character and achievements of General Washington, or Hamilton, or Jefferson, or Madison, could succeed. I doubt if even a small minority know that in those early days and during the experimental stage, questions of Federal authority, State rights, checks to prevent hasty and ill-considered action, of independence of the courts, and of representative government, were all thrashed out.

To-night fashionable society is having many balls and dances because this is a national holiday. General Washington was exceedingly fond of dancing, and was noted as being the most expert and graceful dancer of his day, but he knew nothing of the "Turkey Trot" or the "Bunny Hug" or the "Grizzly Bear." If these young people should be asked at the supper what is the significance of this day and what the place of General Washington in history, I doubt if they would be able to respond. They would return to the "Turkey Trot."

A very brilliant and highly cultured and traveled young woman said to me, "Why bother about those old times and the great people of that day? What they did is of no interest to us, though undoubtedly it was important then. I have no use for the ancients."

It is the distinction of the Society of the Cincinnati that it has lived with content and satisfaction for nearly two hundred years without being disturbed in its organization by the cataclysms which have occurred during that long period. Politics have never entered its councils, nor have religious factions or disputes disturbed its membership. It has lived through and survived every Presidency in our history.

It has become the fashion now for men distinguished in any department of life before they die to write their autobiographies or print their diaries. If the recorder of the Cincinnati had kept a close diary of the inner councils of each Presidential administration, beginning with Washington, and the troubles in their cabinets, it would be a wonderful contribution to the history of the times. As the past recedes and the men and events grow more dim, we need this personal revelation to show the supreme authority exercised for the creation and afterward for the salvation of the young Republic until it was put upon a firm basis by George Washington. The value of such a contribution is brought emphatically to our attention by the diary of Gideon Welles, who was a member of President Lincoln's Cabinet. It was my fortune to be officially in Washington during much of the Lincoln Administration and to know of the gossip which filtered from the White House as to the motives and ambitions of the President's official family. There are few now living who had the opportunity or who knew any of these events, but here from the pen of this hard-headed Yankee who had but one ambition, and that was to serve his chief and save the country, comes a diary written day by day, showing the intrigues for power, for influence with the

President, for replacing him for their own ambitions, for succession among the members of his cabinet. The great value of the revelation is that while these great men were most efficient in their several departments of the State and Foreign Affairs, or the Treasury and Finance, or War, or the Navy, or the Post Office, they were bitterly antagonistic to each other. But they were compelled to use their great abilities in their several ways for the government and its salvation. They were compelled to suppress and keep under cover their machinations and their conspiracies against each other and against their chief, and they presented a united front to the enemy on the one hand and the country on the other because of the tact, the diplomacy, the genius and the magnetic power of Abraham Lincoln.

We know that Washington, the soldier, was the only one of the generals of the time who could have carried on successfully the Revolutionary War, and so he was "The Father of his Country." We know that in the trials and experiments of bringing a confederacy of independent governments into a federation of sovereign states, and yet with supreme power in the Federal Government, no man and no combination of men had so much influence as General Washington. We know that in securing the ratification of the Constitution, framed by a convention of the several States, he used with wonderful effect the officers and soldiers of his army who were prominent citizens in their several States and who had taken the oath of the Society of the Cincinnati to preserve and perpetuate the Union. We know that during his eight years as President only his commanding influence and courage with the people, who knew that he was serving them and

longing for the opportunity to retire to private life, prevented our young Republic becoming an ally of the French Revolution and involved in a war with all Europe when we had neither credit, nor money, nor arms. We all know that except for his commanding influence the revolutions which were started in various States would have culminated into a dissolution of the Union. We all know that at the end of eight years, he and he alone, had so consolidated our institutions that they could be entrusted safely to other hands because behind the politicians were the people, educated to the benefits of government, of the Constitution and the laws. Now, this could have been brought out much more clearly if there had been a Gideon Welles in the cabinet of General Washington. The two ablest men, the greatest rivals and bitterest enemies of that period, were members of his official family, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Each represented antagonistic views of government. Each had tremendous following among the people, but they worked together and subordinated their views to the general good, and how they did it is left to the imagination. And yet it requires no diary of a member of that cabinet; it requires no stretch of the imagination to draw from the records of the times, meager as they are in this respect, the daily story of Washington and his official family. We can see towering above them all the great master builder, keeping each in his place and performing the work for which he was fitted beyond all other men in the country, and at the same time making it impossible for their individual jealousies and ambitions to disturb the creative and consolidating work of their chief.

Now, gentlemen, nothing more astonishes the

careful reader of history than the few men who have controlled the destinies of nations and of mankind. Julius Cæsar came into power when wealth and corruption had so undermined the Republic and enervated its virility that its dissolution into its original elements with universal warfare was imminent. By the creation of imperial authority he kept together that empire for a thousand years. Outside its boundaries travel was impossible; within its boundaries there was Roman law and protection on the highway. This made possible the dissemination of Christianity through the whole Roman world, an event which would have been impossible under the old savage relations of contiguous nations, and this made possible modern Christendom.

The French Revolution would have failed except for the genius of Napoleon. His aims were not republican, nor the dissemination of liberty, but in the name of liberty he overthrew thrones and spread liberal ideas and overturned nearly all autocracy and absolutism and despotism except his own. Waterloo ended him but placed no barrier to the progress of democracy. England, with a Parliamentary government more quickly responsive to the people than any in the world, France a republic, all other European nations with a Parliament, and most of them a responsible ministry, Turkey and ancient Persia feeling the thrill of these ideas, are all the results of the work, genius, conquests and triumphs of Napoleon. So, for liberty, as we understand it, and as we enjoy it, the absolute sovereignty of the people, the equality of all men before the law, the freedom of opportunity for every child, all these are due to the character, courage, unselfish patriotism and genius of George Washington. Cæsar was inspired by ambition, Napoleon by craze

for power—both utterly selfish. Washington's labors were for his country. In the purity of his motive he stands the foremost man of all the centuries.

We have problems which seem to us full of peril, but they are not so difficult as those which he successfully solved. We are passing through an acute struggle, common not only to us, but to the whole world, between labor and capital. We have greater general prosperity, a higher standard of living and more universal conditions of comfort than have ever existed among any people, or our own people before, and yet there never was such a wide-spread spirit of unrest. We are entering upon a presidential election, and the different candidates are presenting to us their methods for solving these difficulties and allaying this unrest. In the meantime, business halts, enterprises are suspended and the movement of the mighty forces which give employment and opportunity is checked. Frequently I hear a cry of anger and despair. Gentlemen, so long as we can celebrate in proper spirit the birthday of General Washington, so long as we can read and re-read his Farewell Address, so long as we can remember and cherish the memory of Abraham Lincoln, so long as we can repeat his Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural, there will come into the Presidency and into the Cabinet, and into Congress, and into the courts, the wisdom which has guided us marvelously in the past and will surely take care of us in the future.

Speech at the Dinner given by the United Swedish Societies and the John Ericsson Memorial Association, March 9, 1912, at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle between *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

In an age of anniversaries and their celebration, yours is unique. It is a tribute to a genius so modest that the immortality due him for his invaluable invention has never been accorded.

The latter part of the Nineteenth Century with us was full of centennials, commencing with that of the Declaration of Independence and, continuing through the various battles of the Revolution, they ended with the adoption of the Constitution, the inauguration of the first President and the formation of the Supreme Court of the United States. We celebrate still with appropriate ceremonies the recurring birthdays of Washington and Lincoln. The educational value of these memorial exercises cannot be overestimated. Each celebration is a university education completed in a single day —an education in the best history of one's country, and an inspiration for patriotism. The Bunker Hill Monument gave to the world the oration of Daniel Webster, which, appearing thereafter in the school books, did more to inform the youth of the United States of the virtues and achievements of their forefathers and of the principles underlying the insti-

tutions of their country than all the histories in existence.

It is interesting to glance over the speeches in and out of Congress during the first fifty years after the formation of the Government. They show that the orator understood that he must appeal to lively recollections among his constituents of the great revolution with which they were all familiar. During the subsequent fifty years commercialism and industrialism, attendant upon the marvelous progress and development of the country, practically obliterated both memory and influence in regard to the story of the creation of our government, or of the soldiers and statesmen whose valor and wisdom made the struggle triumphant.

In estimating the value of the reproduction of the events or the retelling of the story of heroes and statesmen, I think that the interest centers around the individual. Events are innumerable. The mind, with the ordinary pursuits, struggles, successes and failures of life, has no time to grasp them all, or to study the details necessary to understand the significance of the results. But the romance of the hero has a perpetual charm. If the boy and the girl are thoroughly familiar with George Washington, Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln they will grasp most that it is necessary to know in regard to the story of American independence and evolution, of crises and how they were overcome successfully, of American valor, of the Constitution and of representative government and the value for yesterday, to-day and forever of American liberty.

To understand what this day signifies we must in imagination throw a picture upon the wall of conditions in the United States, and between the

United States and the world, in 1862. Happily, in the fraternizing of the combatants, in their equal share in the benefits of this most beneficent of governments and equal power and responsibility in its administration, the bitterness of that period has passed away, the flame of its passionate resentment has died out and we can calmly, from either side, study the heroic picture of men of the same blood, differently trained and with different ideals, fighting and dying as only such men can, for what they deemed to be right.

I remember that year as if it were yesterday. The Civil War had been a drawn battle between the North and the South, a free labor or a slave holding republic. Mr. Lincoln and his administration had, in their efforts to save the Union, an interior line of eleven thousand miles to defend and a sea coast of three thousand miles to blockade. The United States Navy had at that time only forty effective men-of-war. The conspirators in the government, knowing that they were to bring about secession, had sent the best and strongest of these battleships to China and the coast of Africa and the Pacific Ocean. There were only eleven ships, carrying only one hundred and thirty-one guns, upon our Atlantic coast. Less than a year before the appearance of the *Monitor*, an American naval officer had taken off the British steamship *Trent* Mason and Slidell and their secretaries who were going to Europe as ambassadors of the Southern Confederacy, one to England and the other to France, to endeavor to secure recognition for their government. This had brought us to the verge of war with Great Britain, which was only averted by the diplomacy, skill and adroitness of Secretary of State William H. Seward. The sympathies of

the governments of the Old World were wholly with the government of the Southern Confederacy. All these governments were either absolute monarchies or constitutional ones under the control of an aristocratic oligarchy. Tremendous immigration to the United States had carried back such ideas of American liberty as were endangering thrones and old institutions. If this Civil War should be successful that danger would be averted for a generation, so the ruling classes in all Europe were anxious for any excuse to interfere and to break up the American Republic. On the other hand, a notion had got abroad that the slaveholders of the South were a privileged and aristocratic class, while the North was a nation of shopkeepers. So the sympathies of the hereditary rulers were with what they deemed to be a part of the country whose governing people were more nearly affiliated with themselves. If the Southern Confederacy could be recognized by the great powers of Europe and arms and munitions of war poured in through the many harbors of the Atlantic coast, even the superior population, the greater wealth and the larger resources of the North could scarcely have been sufficient to save the Union.

In the summer of 1861 the President, Congress and the country were informed that at the Norfolk Navy Yard, which had fallen into Confederate hands, a new and most formidable ship of war was being constructed on original lines. Some of the ablest officers of the American Navy had gone with their States into the rebellion. They had taken the old frigate *Merrimac* which was at Norfolk when it was seized, and with wonderful skill and ingenuity were transforming her into an ironclad impenetrable to any ordnance then in existence.

The whole North was greatly alarmed. It was fully thought that if the reports in regard to this formidable vessel were true she could destroy the eleven ships of the American fleet, and, as our harbors were then wholly unprotected against such a battleship, could enter and levy tribute upon Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Delegations of bankers and commercial men were constantly going to Washington beseeching the President to save them from this peril. I recall Mr. Lincoln telling me in his whimsical way of the arrival of such a committee. They were from New York. There were a hundred of them. He said that all had Prince Albert coats and top hats. Their several spokesmen detailed the enormous amount of wealth which they represented and the millions which each of them individually possessed. They pictured how this warship could sail unimpeded to their docks and burn the entire city or else levy tribute sufficient to carry the war on indefinitely. They claimed that they were entitled to protection because of the liberality with which they had subscribed to the government bonds. Mr. Lincoln said that he had never heard or dreamed of so much money being owned or represented by so few people. He said to them, "Gentlemen, we have no ships to send to New York; we have no guns to mount on your forts; we have no money, and the whole credit and means of the government are exhausted in doing what we can to protect the Capital and this tremendous interior and coast line. But," he said, "if I had as much money as you say you have," and then in his quaint way of pronouncing, "and was as 'skeered' as you are, I think I would find means with which to protect my own town." Then this delegation went to Congress, and Congress appro-

priated one million five hundred thousand dollars to invite proposals for the construction of any kind of a ship which would be able to meet and resist the attack of the *Merrimac* as had been described. Of course, the President was immediately flooded with plans from every cracked-brained inventor in the country, and the Navy Department was kept nights, days and Sundays in the investigation of these schemes. Fortunately, Captain John Ericsson had a reputation of previous achievement. He had been the inventor of the screw propeller which had revolutionized the commerce of the world and the battleships of all nations. He finally secured a contract for his device, in which the experts had no faith, and a small part of this appropriation and commenced work at Green Point, Long Island. He completed his little *Monitor* in one hundred days, and then, with Lieutenant Worden and a crew, this nondescript craft, which was practically a raft with a revolving turret, armed with two eleven-inch guns, started for Hampton Roads. The country knew nothing of the ship, and the few who did had no faith in her, but regarded the experiment as only a desperate chance. On the 8th of March, 1862, the dread moment arrived when the *Merrimac* sailed out into Chesapeake Bay. She immediately attacked the two American frigates which were there to watch her, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*. She sunk the *Cumberland* and drove the *Congress* ashore, and then returned to Norfolk to come out the next day and complete her work. Such a night and such a morning this country has seldom seen. There was little sleep anywhere; in the South wild elation, and in the North a frenzy of despair. The news, flashed by electric wires, filled the journals everywhere. There was but one

ray of light, and that was a light of which to be proud. The *Cumberland,* refusing to surrender, had gone down in fifty-four feet of water, her flag still flying, her commander preferring that it should be buried with himself in the ocean rather than surrender to the enemy. The morning of the 9th of March found the country in a thrill of expectancy, of hope on one side and of alarm on the other. In the early morning the *Monitor* had come into the bay. As the *Merrimac* started for the third ship, the *Minnesota,* this nondescript craft came out from under the shadow of the huge side of the *Minnesota* and made directly for the *Merrimac.* The veterans on both sides looked at her in amazement, the skilled and trained officers of the *Merrimac* bursting with laughter. Some shouted, "Here comes a Yankee tin can on a shingle," and others, "Here's a Yankee cheesebox on a raft," but the revolving cheesebox began to hurl from its eleven-inch guns solid shot against the armor of the *Merrimac* which broke the iron, though it could not pierce the twenty-four inches of solid oak underneath, while the raft and the cheesebox proved invulnerable to the *Merrimac* guns. After several hours of this fighting, in which the *Merrimac* could not with her huge bulk ram her agile and small antagonist, in which she had suffered injuries that needed investigation, the *Merrimac* withdrew up the river to the Norfolk Navy Yard and never came out again. Again language is inadequate to describe the wild excitement in every city, village and hamlet in the land which followed this most dramatic and spectacular fight.

The possibilities of the great nations of Europe recognizing the Southern Confederacy were over, the danger to the American Navy was past, the

hope of a Confederate Navy was blasted, but an event occurred that day which challenged the cabinets, the navy departments and the admiralties of every nation in the world. They all saw that their fleets were doomed; they all saw that to preserve their positions on the ocean or protection for their coasts, there must be such a feverish haste, as never was known before, to burn, to bury or break up their wooden ships and secure ironclads.

There is no study more interesting than the one which would develop how much property has been suddenly destroyed by invention or discovery or the opening of new channels to trade. Quite as large fortunes as have ever been piled up by the possessors of new and remunerative ideas, have on the other hand been lost because the revolutionary character of these ideas has sent the old ships or coaches or machinery to the scrap heap. One of the greatest fortunes in the world is due to the sagacity and courage of its maker who would sell at any price or break up and destroy the machinery which he had installed at enormous expense yesterday if a better one came on the market to-day.

The *Monitor* could make six knots an hour; the dreadnought makes twenty-one. The *Monitor* had a displacement of seven hundred and seventy-six tons; the dreadnought twenty-five thousand tons. The *Monitor* took its chance of hitting its target as it came in sight of its revolving turret, but even then it was obscured by clouds of black smoke, and the range of its guns was a few hundred yards. Its shot weighed only one hundred and sixty pounds, while the dreadnought with entire accuracy, even in a heavy sea, will send a shot or a shell weighing nine hundred pounds for six miles, with a possible

range of ten. The resisting power of the soft iron which protected the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* alike differed as much from the Harveyized steel armor of the dreadnought as one inch is to fifty, while the energy of the projectile from the great gun of the dreadnought is fifty thousand times greater than that which went from the muzzle of the gun in the *Monitor.*

Ericsson said, as his little craft was launched, "I name you the *Monitor.*" His thought went back to his school days when the monitor checked the bad boy or told the teacher. "I call you the *Monitor,*" he said, "because you will admonish the leaders of the Southern rebellion that the batteries on the banks of their rivers can no longer present barriers to the entrance of the Union forces. I call you the *Monitor* as a warning to Great Britain to stop at once the building of the three battleships now under construction which are to cost three million five hundred thousand dollars apiece. I call you the *Monitor* because you are to warn all nations that they must abandon their navies and build new ones on your suggestion."

Before Ericsson's invention of the screw propeller, the paddle wheels on either side of the ship were thought to be the greatest progress possible for the propulsion of a vessel. To see what has been the effect of this product of Ericsson's genius, one has only to picture what would happen to the towering sides of the *Olympic* with paddle boxes sufficient, if they could be constructed, to enable them to move at all. What would happen to those floating fortresses, the twenty-five-thousand-ton dreadnoughts, if they were dependent upon this suggestion of the motive power in the mill wheel of our ancestors?

The battle which had been fought in the waters of Hampton Roads when the sun went down fifty years ago to-night has its lesson to-day. If the government, when the rebellion broke out, could have had the full strength of its navy, or if it had possessed an adequately equipped army, or, in other words, if in time of peace it had been prepared for war, the rebellion would have been quickly ended and we would have been spared the horrors of four years of the bloodiest civil strife in all history. There is a mighty preachment now which finds its echo in Congress, that we can save money by reducing the efficiency of the army and denying the battleships necessary for the navy. "War is out of date," cry these mistaken advocates of peace. There was a time when the world was made up of nations seeking to gain power and wealth by conquering their weaker neighbors, when the possibilities of conflict were ever present because of the grasping avarice of power. The possibilities of conflict are ever present for us. With the strained relations existing between Great Britain and Germany, nothing but the invincible strength of the British navy prevented war last summer. With the ambition for a larger place in the sun which characterized diplomacy about Morocco, nothing prevented one of the bloodiest wars of modern times except the efficiency of the French army, united with the overwhelming strength of the British navy. Conditions in Mexico, with the enormous sums of foreign money invested in that country, and the great numbers of the citizens of various nations doing business and living there, are full of peril to the Monroe Doctrine of which we are the guardian. At any hour all Europe may plump to us the question, "Shall we rely on your interpreta-

tion of the Monroe Doctrine or protect ourselves, as we are amply able to do?" If we had a lesser navy they would not ask that question. They would protect themselves, which they would much prefer to do. War with Turkey would not have occurred if Turkey had possessed a navy equal to that of Italy. It came upon every cabinet suddenly as the explosion of a stick of dynamite.

But, gentlemen, let this night have other lessons more intimate and personal. Let it be the commencement of a movement for an instruction which shall put in his proper place in the Temple of Fame one who deserves to stand among the immortal few who have been the benefactors of mankind in different ages of the world, your countryman and our naturalized fellow-citizen, Captain John Ericsson.

## Speech at the Dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York to Justice Mahlon Pitney, of the United States Supreme Court, May 2, 1912.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

It is fortunate for the stability of our institutions and the preservation of our Union that the Justices of the Supreme Court are not subject, like our candidates for the Presidency, to an open primary. The necessity of this new system compels the President and an ex-President of the United States, Governors of States who are candidates, and all others who aspire to the great position, to spend nearly every day of the months preceding the convention in living on sleeping cars by night and making rear platform speeches to crowds at stations by day in order to impress upon the constituencies their several claims for the nomination of their party. While the candidates are criticised, it is not their fault, but it is the exigency of the new system which compels them to appear as far as possible in every locality and before all the people of our vast country.

There are about two hundred thousand lawyers in the United States, and it is the legitimate ambition, I might say the absorbing desire, of every one of them to attain the highest honor possible in their profession, and that is to be one of the nine Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. If we had, as is now advocated for filling vacancies in that Court, the open primary, there would be at least twenty-five thousand lawyers traveling the country,

speaking wherever they could secure an audience and making heroic efforts to attain the first page of the daily press. They would be appealing for votes, not because of their knowledge of the law or of their ability to interpret statutes according to the Constitution or of their fearlessness in holding the scales of justice evenly for the strong and for the weak, for the rich and the poor, regardless of popular passion or temporary excitement and enthusiasm; they would be assuring the people of each of the forty-eight States that their diverse views on questions of currency and of tariff, of war and of peace, of State boundary lines and State claims to authority against that of the Federal Government, were the only ones in the interest of the people, and that the candidate could be relied upon to favor the people without any weak reverence for an antiquated Constitution or laws which had ceased to meet the popular will.

What sort of a bench would result from this process if a question on a par with the famous dictum about the verdict of the petit jury that no one but a divinity could foreknow, and even he might be in doubt? Happily, those wise founders of our government decided that the Justices of the Supreme Court should be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It is a remarkable tribute to this method of selection that the historian can find no criticism upon any choice thus made during the one hundred and twenty years of the existence of the Court. Whatever may be our views or our preferences on the Presidency, there is one question on which there is no divided opinion, and that is by his wonderful training as a judge and his accurate knowledge of the qualities necessary to meet all the requirements of the highest Court in our

land, no President, no citizen, is better fitted, or has more admirably demonstrated his ability and his fairness than President Taft. He has never considered whether the best man was a Democrat or a Republican; he has never considered what his religion might be, but with the opportunity that has come to him to appoint a majority of the Court, he has in a most extraordinary degree elevated and strengthened it.

In view of the honor conferred upon us this evening by having the most recent appointee to this great tribunal as our guest, I am reminded of the beginnings of the Court. After the judges had been appointed by Washington and sworn in, they opened Court in the rooms of the Merchants' Exchange in this city. There being no precedent as to the robing of the judges, as there had been none for the formation of the Court, Chief Justice Jay appeared in a gorgeous cloak presented to him when he received a degree as Doctor of Laws from the University of Dublin, while the other judges wore the plain, black gown which is still the uniform of the Court. They met every day for three days in succession, but not a case was placed upon the calendar, nor did a litigant nor a lawyer appear before them. Then they accepted as a body an invitation to a dinner. This was the first official action of the Court. It is a precedent which they have followed, not collectively, but individually, with the greatest success for one hundred and twenty years. When a hostess in Washington wishes to make her dinner a success, her first effort is not the Cabinet, nor the Senate, nor the House of Representatives, nor the Diplomatic Corps, but the Justices of the Supreme Court. If she can secure one of them, and generally there are only two

or three available on account of the immense labor which devolves upon them, her dinner is a success. She simply builds around the Justice her Diplomatists, her Cabinet Ministers, her Senators and her Members of the House, and the central figure, like Abou Ben Adhem, leads all the rest.

It is another curious incident connected with the beginnings of the Court that this dinner was given by the grand jury of the County. The Court was wholly unknown because entirely new, and the grand jury believing and saying that they were the oldest institution under the common law and its guardian and protector, were the proper hosts to pay the first honors to the new Court. From being wholly unknown, as at the beginning, the Supreme Court is to-day the best known, the most respected, the most authoritative and the most august tribunal in the world. I have tried, but my imagination fails me, to create a scene where the Marshal of the District of Columbia should, in a similar way, convey from the grand jury an invitation to the Court as a body to officially accept their invitation for dinner.

It illuminates the present situation and discussion and the claim for nobility of the ideas which are now so eloquently and vigorously presented in regard to the Court to recall the proceedings of the convention which framed the Constitution. This was no ordinary gathering. Its members had passed through the fires of revolution. They had broken ties with the mother country to which they were bound by tradition, history and education. They were educated men, profound students and familiar with every trial of government which history disclosed and of every theory which philosophers had propounded. They were trying upon the

ruins of the Confederacy, where the central government had no power and the States flouted its decrees, its orders and its statutes, to build a safe and permanent republic, which should preserve for all liberty and law. They debated as to the powers of the States and as to the powers which should be granted by the States to the Federal Government. They were guided by the spirit of Washington's wise advice to "give up a share of liberty in order to preserve the rest." After they had formed their Congress and created their presidency, there still existed the danger of a popular and arbitrary Executive becoming all powerful or of a radical Congress defying both the President and the Constitution. Then was originated the idea of the Supreme Court with power to hold both the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government within the limits of the Constitution—a Court which Washington, with one of his terse phrases, designated, what is has been ever since and always will be, "The Keystone of the Arch of Union."

In those debates these great lawyers, statesmen, philosophers and soldiers canvassed thoroughly and exhaustively the questions of appointment and of removal or, in other words, recall, which are now agitating the public mind. While there was a great debate and many votes upon other provisions of the Constitution, the vote upon the establishment of the Supreme Court, and the great and sweeping powers which were to be granted to it, was unanimous. There was a proposition that the judges should be removed by a majority vote of the two Houses of Congress, but as against the present provision that their tenure shall be for life and during good behavior and their removal only by impeachment and trial before the Senate, there was but one

vote in favor of the removal by a majority vote of the two Houses of Congress.

There was another feature of this debate which illumines the present political situation—the agitation now to create conditions which will make judges more politicians than judges, more legislators than interpreters of the law and the Constitution. A proposition was offered in the Convention that the Court should have the power to revise acts passed by Congress before they were submitted to the President, but the unanimous judgment upon this proposition was that the function of the Court was not legislative, it was not executive, it was not to make laws, but to interpret the laws according to the written Constitution. Now, however, we are told that it is essential to liberty and to a quick response to the popular will that judicial decisions shall be submitted to a vote by the people, or, more drastic, that if the judges' decisions of the Court are not popular the judge shall be recalled. All of this reduced to its last analysis means that justice shall be administered by the mob.

Judge Grover was one of the ablest jurists who ever occupied a seat upon our Court of Appeals. He was a rough diamond. It was my good fortune to know him intimately. I remember that when the Court of Appeals sat at Saratoga Springs some one met him in the United States Hotel, and said, "Judge, are you staying here?" He said, "No, I can't stand what they call a course dinner, with twenty different things and an hour to serve it. I stay at a boarding house where my victuals are all on the table at once."

He was the author of the famous phrase that when a lawyer is defeated in the highest Court he

has no remedy but to go down to the tavern and curse the Court.

But the statesmen of the hour propose now that the attorney shall have a new remedy, and that is by petition remove the Court and secure one which will decide according to his brief and retainer.

Within the last year there have been two trials where passion and not justice occupied the bench. In each it was discovered after the victims were killed that they were innocent. Col. Roosevelt tells an admirable story of his experience while a rancher in the West, when a citizen was hung as a horse thief. It was found shortly afterward that he was innocent and one of the court which condemned and executed him was appointed to gently break the news to his wife. He said, on being greeted as he entered the house, "Excuse me, madam, but where is your husband?" She said, "He is down in the village." Said he, "No, he ain't, I have got him in a box out in the wagon. He is dead. The boys made a mistake and hung him, but they want me to tell you for your comfort and consolation that they have found since that he was innocent."

Any one who has had a large experience in State Legislatures or in the National Congress knows that many acts become laws under popular clamor or to gratify particular interests of capital or labor which the Courts afterward declare to be unconstitutional, but every lawyer knows that the Court in rendering its decisions points out how the things sought for by the legislative body can be attained and still be within the provisions of the Constitution. The Court does not legislate, the Court does not pretend to say whether the acts are wise or unwise. Then, why this clamor against the decision

and for its recall, or against the Court and its destruction? It is because of impatience and cowardice. All politicians who have engineered the law wish to get immediate benefit from the people who desire it, and therefore think that the recall would be a shorter method and that it would be a club which would intimidate the Court in deciding against its convictions and its conscience. The other reason is cowardice. The promoters of such a statute do not wish to confess that they did not know how to prepare it. They are afraid to go before the legislative body of which they are members and acknowledge the error which they committed in the original act. They are afraid to say to that legislative body, "We have now prepared a bill which accomplishes the same purpose we originally intended, but it is strictly within the provisions of the Constitution and will be approved by the Court." To make such a declaration and such an admission would lead to the charge that they were half-baked statesmen, and they would lose credit with their constituency and authority with the body to which they belong. Therefore, it is safer, and, properly presented, infinitely more popular to ask for the overthrow of the Court.

During my years as a Senator the question would often be discussed in the free intercourse of the committee rooms what position under the government was most desirable. Of course, the Presidency was the first ambition of all, and yet I have known Presidents who would be glad to exchange the White House for the Supreme Court. But, the Presidency aside, the opinion always was that for a man who was competent and fit, there was no office in the world which presented such opportunities, which granted such independence, from which could

be derived so much pleasure and in which there were so many opportunities for usefulness and permanent fame as to be a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The traditions of that great tribunal are an inspiration to every member. Great men have preceded them and their decisions have made possible the perpetuity of the Union of the States and the preservation of a government of liberty, law and order. The Court has expanded to apply by interpretation the general principles of the Constitution to meet and permit the marvelous growth of the country and the development of its resources. That our institutions which were framed when our country consisted of thirteen States and three millions of people are elastic enough for all the needs of forty-eight States and a hundred millions of people is due to the wisdom, the courage, the learning and the genius of the Supreme Court.

We here to-night congratulate the Supreme Court that to succeed one of the greatest Justices who ever honored that tribunal the President has appointed and the Senate has confirmed so great a lawyer, so profound a jurist, so wise and broad a man as our guest, Mr. Justice Pitney.

## Speech at the Celebration at the Lexington Avenue Opera House, New York, of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Entrance upon the Ministry of the Reverend Henry A. Brann, D.D., Rector of St. Agnes' Church, May 29, 1912.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

I participated the other evening in the celebration of the fiftieth birthday of a valued friend. In his personality and in his achievements he eminently deserved the tribute which was paid him. Of his half century, one-half, or twenty-five years, had been passed in youth and preparation, so that his real work was only the half of a half century. But the jubilee, or the fifty years from the commencement of a career, is quite another affair. The fiftieth birthday is frequent, but the rounding out of a half century in one's career, with energies unimpaired and every prospect of future usefulness, is an event.

It is a wonderful privilege to have been an active worker in any department of human endeavor during this half century. Every year of it has been an incentive to renewed effort, and its consummation full of inspiration and pride. We may look over all available records of the past, and, except the birth of Christ, there is no period in which so much has been accomplished for human happiness, for liberty, for prosperity, for the advancement of the individual and the betterment of the world. We are here to congratulate our friend that his activities have been abreast with these achievements

and that in his sphere he has been a factor in the best of these results.

I had a conversation with Mr. Gladstone at the zenith of his power. He was reminiscent and, as usual, delightful. He said, "If I had to select from all the half centuries of recorded time the one in which I would have preferred to live and work, I would have chosen the one in which I have lived and worked, because it has been pre-eminently an era of emancipation." While he did not enlarge upon this, I knew that he referred to religious emancipation in Great Britain, to the abolition of slavery in the Western Hemisphere and the advance of liberal ideas on the Continent. But if he could have lived another quarter of a century and have had 1912 as the end of his fifty years, how much more extraordinary would have been the achievements of the period, for since his time the advance of the world has been unparalleled. The arts, the inventions, the scientific discoveries, the development of resources unknown before, the new uses of electricity and of steam have increased beyond calculation the power of man and the wealth of nations. Emancipation has been more rapid than during the fifty years Mr. Gladstone described. There is no real autocracy left in the world. Many kingdoms have become republics, and kings, where they still seem to have a prominent place, are there because monarchy is held to be the keynote of their institutions, but the power of the monarchy is reduced to registering the will of the people. The extraordinary emancipation of the period since Mr. Gladstone died is the freeing of the mighty forces of nature which have been pent up in the air and in the waters and in the earth from time immemorial. The titanic explosions, which were cyclones

and earthquakes and tidal waves, devastating the earth, have been worshiped by savage, barbarian and even civilized peoples in all ages as powers of evils to be placated. The fearless and audacious spirit of scientific investigation has penetrated the secrets of nature, has entered the treasure house in which were kept the forces of the air, of the water and the earth. Most of them now are made the servants and not the masters of man.

Among the latest and most beneficent of the forces wrested from nature is wireless telegraphy. It has been the tragedy of the ocean that great ships have been lost and their fate a mystery never solved. But for the wireless, we would never have known the fate of the *Titanic,* and perhaps none of her passengers would have been saved. The wireless rescued a part; if man had done his duty, as he ought to, probably none would have been lost.

But the wireless taught us another lesson. It has been the claim of the romancers and the idealists that the Christian teaching of peace and good will among men has made impossible a recreation in any form of the age of chivalry. Real heroism, they say, can only be displayed, its best qualities nourished and preserved upon the battlefield or in combats where armed men risk life and fortune for the cause in which they believe. But the wireless account of what occurred on the *Titanic* shows that in this Christian age there is a heroism purer, higher, greater than that developed in the mad passions which are aroused by the fury of the conflict, the sight of blood and the roar of battle. Mr. and Mrs. Straus refused to be separated. Colonel Astor and Major Butt, knowing that their fate was sealed, doing their best to rescue the women and the children, and, above all, the band, allaying the panic and

arousing hope of eternal life, by playing, until submerged by the waves, "Nearer, My God To Thee!" My friends, there is no picture of the brave going to their death which equalled that which came to us on waves through the air.

We have had twenty-seven Presidents of the United States, and Doctor Brann has been carrying on his work under the administration of twelve, or nearly half of them. He had on his desk in his rectory the morning after it was delivered that gem of American oratory—President Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg. His prayers ascended, as is always the case at a new administration, for the watchful care of the Almighty over the life and the official acts of President Grant. His petitions were among the most fervent of those offered all over the land for the preservation of the life, after the attempt to assassinate him, of General Garfield. He has preserved the even tenor of his way, pursued without interruption his duties to his Church and as a citizen during the strenuous times of President Roosevelt. Even with the sound of battle coming to us to-day from all over the country, because of this most original and titanic force in our public life that there has been in these fifty years, the Doctor still has unabated faith that whatever happens is for his own wise purposes under the motto of "God doeth all things well."

Distinguished as have been the surroundings in the many fields of our friend, he has been most happy in having his career at this particular period in his own Church. The American College of Rome has been for fifty years sending out graduates to their appointed work, and it is his privilege to stand at the head of that devoted body of men as first and oldest alumnus.

For many, many years of the Doctor's ministry he had for his superior Leo XIII, who in addition to his ecclesiastical virtues and accomplishments was a great statesman and an accomplished diplomat. I had the honor of a long interview with him. He was a very old man and seemed physically exceedingly frail. I treasure his compliment to me when he said, "You are the President of a great railroad company employing over thirty thousand men. The majority of them are of my Church and not of yours, and I am glad to greet you and thank you that in your administration you make no distinction whatever between those of your faith and those of mine." He has been called the workingman's Pope. His conversation ran upon that subject, upon the desire of his life to bring about better relations between capital and labor. Then suddenly, as if the old fire which had made him a marvelous preacher in his prime was flaming with original luster, he grasped the arms of his chair, blood came to his pallid face, his eyes flashed, his voice was musical, while he said, and this was prophetic, for there was very little of this at that time in the world, "The greatest menace to the welfare of the workingman and to the stability of the Church is Socialism. Socialism is the denial of all authority, divine and human. Without authority and without law there can be neither order nor protection of life or property, nor the continuance of Christian civilization."

But I count, as I think our friend must, as one of the greatest blessings of his life that his early career in the ministry was under Archbishop Hughes. Archbishop Hughes broke the traditions which surrounded his sacred office and virtually entered the diplomatic service of the government

in the time of its greatest need. The question of the success of the Union was largely dependent upon preventing interference by the great powers of Europe. It was known that these great powers at that time, controlled as they were by monarchical and aristocratic forces, were in favor of the Confederacy because they thought that in the breaking up of the Union there would be a check upon the spirit of republican and democratic ideas. The Archbishop visited France and other continental countries, and by his diplomatic ability was a great factor in holding back France and other nations from coming to the aid of the Southern Confederacy.

I think among the best recollections of Doctor Brann must be that he returned on the same ship with the Archbishop. Certainly the discourse of the Archbishop upon his mission or its results upon the necessity of saving the Union and preserving the perpetuity of the Republic of the United States was the opening for the young priest of a university of practical patriotism and good citizenship which began when the ship started and he was graduated when he landed in New York. We all know that during the whole of his life since the Civil War, the good Doctor has been foremost, as far as his office would permit, in every effort leading to good government.

The most frequent of discussions is "What is success?" We all understand what is meant by it for the lawyer or the doctor, for the banker or the merchant, for the artist or the youth struggling in any way for promotion. Seldom, however, is it discussed in relation to the ministry. A successful minister must have qualities which would enable him to advance in law, or in medicine, or in busi-

ness, or in teaching. No one could build four churches, as the Doctor has done, free them from debt and start them successfully upon their career unless he was a good business man, nor avoid entanglements with contractors and with the owners of the brick and the lumber and the stone and the lime unless he was a good lawyer. No one who has enjoyed the privilege can go through the schools which are maintained by our friend without recognizing his eminence as an organizer and an educator. It is the glory of the ministry that while it is one of sacrifice because the qualities which would make for material success in life or for fame in public life are concentrated solely upon parish work, nevertheless there are compensations which are granted to no other calling.

In a remarkable letter found in the life of Cardinal Newman, he describes his visit to St. Peter's at Rome. He says, "People are going and coming, talking with this, that and the other; in the meantime people are praying silently, others are kneeling before an altar taking part in a service—all this which is the world of worship and activity and conversation is going on within the walls of the Christian Church; and," he said, "it is splendid, for here is the world granted a place in religion."

In that description is, I think, a revelation of the secret of the success in his work of our friend, Doctor Brann. He has always recognized, and with rare diplomacy and skill has carried out in his mission the idea that the world has a place in religion.

My friends, let us briefly sum up these fifty years. There pass in review the thousands of girls and boys who have been rescued from the slums and made good citizens, good fathers, good wives, good mothers. There are thousands who have entered

the sacred bond of matrimony and under the teachings of their pastor have proved that marriage is not a failure, but the greatest blessing upon earth. There are thousands who have been comforted in passing from this world to the next and have felt because of the consolation he administered they were to be received with hope and joy in the great beyond. To-night this procession of the living and the spirits of those who are gone, whether present within this hall or far away over the earth or in the realms above, join in one anthem of praise and thanksgiving for the past and of prayer and hope for the future of our good friend.

## Speech at the Fourth of July Celebration of the American Society of London, England, July 4, 1912.

*Mr. Chairman, My Lords and Gentlemen:*

It has devolved upon me to propose the sentiment of "The Day We Celebrate." I am very grateful to my lifelong friend, His Excellency the American Ambassador, for his tribute to my venerable years, and I look upon him as a very promising young man. (Laughter.) When he boasts of having, at his first ballot, voted for Abraham Lincoln, I can say I voted four years before for John C. Fremont, the first presidential candidate of our party. I got in the habit in that campaign of 1856 of appearing upon the platform on different occasions, and I have been unable to get over it for fifty-six years. Yet, when our Ambassador alluded so charmingly to the long linger which I have had on the stage, I was afraid that you and my friends at home might liken me to the boy who wrote a letter of twenty pages home from boarding school to his mother and closed with the P. S., "Dear Mother, please excuse my longevity." (Laughter.)

It has been my pleasure to attend Independence Day celebrations in London during the reigns of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and now tonight. On each of these occasions I could bring the hearty good-will and respect of the American people for the late Queen, a tribute of good fellowship and camaraderie, continued since his boyhood visit. to

the late King and an appreciation of his statesmanship and especially of his uniform and universal friendship for America and Americans. I can say now that these sentiments for the great Queen and the genial and popular King are continued with hopeful prophecy to their successor, King George. (Applause.)

The Ambassador suggested that I report about the recent convention which renominated President Taft. I attended as a delegate the National Republican Presidential Convention at Chicago, leaving it with only time enough to catch the steamer which brought me here. The daily papers, as never before, were filled with the reports of the proceedings of that convention and, on my sailing day, with predictions of the Democratic gathering at Baltimore. The space left, however, was largely devoted to an almost hysterical advocacy of what is called a "sane and safe," or "safe and soundless," Fourth of July. To one who commenced celebrating these anniversaries seventy-five years ago, this seems to be a tribute to the æstheticism, the dilettantism and the tenderfootism of a degenerate age. Fourth of July without noise is like an electrical display without light, or a lion with organs paralyzed when the time comes for a triumphant roar, or a rooster without a crow. All the American boys of my period, and down until the time when the speaking stage was removed from the academy and the school-room, declaimed that famous speech from Daniel Webster in which he put into the mouth of old John Adams a prophecy and an injunction for the celebration of the Fourth of July. I cannot recall the exact words, but it was about this: that Fourth of July should be celebrated forever with military and civic processions; that its

dawn should be greeted with the booming of artillery and the ringing of the church bells; its day with meetings and orations and its night with fire-works and illuminations.

A famous President of the United States, who in early life had an almost hopeless struggle, said to me one day: "Was there ever a period in your career when you would have compromised with the Lord for a moderate certainty and given up all the rest? Because that occurred to me in my struggles, when, if God had only been willing to make the bargain and given me an academy with an endowment that would assure me three thousand dollars a year, I would have surrendered all the rest."

I wonder if any of you have tried to think of the first real overwhelming thrill you ever had in your life. I suppose most of us would connect it with the first application of the parental slipper, or later, in adolescence, with the first kiss. (Laughter.) What an American boy, properly brought up, would associate it with is his first independent, self-reliant Fourth of July. Having sat up all night in preparation as the proud possessor of a three-pound cannon, I planted it on the hill by the old homestead, and when the bell from the belfry of the old Presbyterian Church and the cannon from Drum Hill announced the dawn of the Fourth of July, I touched off my artillery. Blistered hands, powdered cheeks, which lasted for months, eyebrows singed, and general demoralization caused by the kick of the artillery, simply placed me for a moment as a little boy among the soldiers who marched with Washington and camped at Valley Forge. (Applause.)

Perhaps it may not be inappropriate, as future Fourths of July are dependent in a large measure

upon the result, to give, as Mr. Reid suggests, a brief report of the great conventions.

In the Republican party there have been fifteen of these conventions, and I have attended ten, my first being in 1864 for the second nomination of Abraham Lincoln. In all those gatherings the crowds in the galleries, of men and women from all parts of the country, outnumbered by ten to one the delegates on the floor. They were instinct with enthusiasm, and the magnetism of their ardor affected their representatives upon whom devolved the responsibility of nominating a candidate for President.

The cheers, lasting sometimes for half an hour and sometimes for an hour, for Lincoln in the convention in '64, for Grant in the convention in '68, for Blaine and Sherman and Harrison and Garfield in '80, '84, '88 and '92, for McKinley in 1896 and again in 1900, for Roosevelt in 1904, and Roosevelt and Taft in 1908, were the inspirations of a lifetime.

When I made the speech nominating Harrison for a second term in the Minneapolis Convention in 1892, I inadvertently mentioned his opponent Blaine, and fourteen thousand people in the galleries, rose and cheered, with waving handkerchiefs, flags and hats, for forty-five minutes, and when I mentioned President Harrison, for an hour, so that the thirty minutes' address required in its delivery nearly three hours! (Laughter.)

Now the contrast. During all the scenes, and there were many exciting ones, among the delegates in our convention two weeks ago at Chicago, the mention of the historic names of the party and of the country, like Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, McKinley, elicited no response whatever from the gal-

leries, nor did the names of the candidates arouse enthusiasm. This great crowd was not angry nor sullen, it was indifferent.

At Baltimore the proceedings were prolonged more days than they have been for sixty years in the Democratic party, and a tremendous effort, receiving great support, was made to prevent the votes of the large states in which great business is concentrated and to expel from the convention delegates who represented great business.

What does all this mean on Independence Day? Talking to a distinguished writer within the last few days, he said: "Its parallel is to be found in the calm and mutterings of the storm which preceded the French revolution." But he was entirely wrong. There is not the slightest indication in the United States of a revolution. Never in our history were we farther removed from what might be called the spirit of the French revolution. The rights of the people, collectively and individually, were never so secure. The power of the people, both in the municipalities, in the states, and in the general government, was never so supreme. Prosperity was never so universal; business never so good, never so promising, and opportunity never so hopeful. Labor and capital, each more powerful than ever, are more harmonious than ever. The railway strike which was threatened a month ago, when, if it had eventuated war, for it would have been war, would have stopped the turning of every wheel on every railroad between Chicago and the remotest boundaries of Maine; it would have paralyzed every industry in the Middle and the Atlantic and the Eastern States and brought the great cities, as well as the smaller ones, to starvation. But after free discussion by the representatives of labor

and capital, it was settled by submission to peaceful arbitration. (Applause.)

Then, what is the matter? What is the reason for the lack of enthusiasm for the great names of the party or the statesmanship, or the policies of the past and present? Ninety-nine per cent. of the American people are earning their living and adding to their competence or their fortunes by their personal exertions, and the other one per cent. are not neglectful of civic or industrial duties. We are preeminently a business people. There are opportunities for the profitable investment in new enterprises giving employment to labor and capital of over one hundred millions of dollars, and there is a hundred millions of dollars eager to enter and exploit these fields. But business, which ought to be represented hopefully in politics, has become alarmed about politicians. American enterprise has no fear of its own ability. It is willing to take every risk dependent upon its judgment, but it wishes to know where the line is to be drawn as to the amount of business which will be permitted to be conducted and as to the limits that may be put upon genius for affairs and national and local development. The only trouble with us is the mistakes by the politicians of both parties as to the real solid, sober temper of the American people. We have become the victims of specialization, but then this is an age of specialization. I admit that the specialists have done wonderful things in various lines. The research work in the Rockefeller and Carnegie Institutes has done much for humanity. They have taken a common "yaller" dog of ignoble birth, and by grafting upon him the organs of canine aristocracy have created a thoroughbred

which takes the highest prizes in the dog expositions. (Laughter.)

They are discovering and hope to eliminate the sources of disease and the microbe of old age. It is said that a French specialist has located the microbe of old age, and that presently we shall live forever. That, however, does not make me feel entirely happy when I think of a good many men I know. (Laughter.) Nevertheless, they are dangerous. One of the most eminent surgeons in the country looked me over critically the other day and said: "Senator, I would regard it as the highest honor of my professional career if I could operate on you for appendicitis." (Laughter.) And if I had not been protected he would have strapped me on the table. He ignored the fact that my appendix for nearly seventy-nine years has been performing whatever part it does perform in as healthy and happy a life as any American wants to live.

By the way, one thing occurred at the convention which will be enjoyed by English-speaking people everywhere. There were two men in the gallery, next to one another, one a lumberman. When the New York delegation arrived, the other man said: "The New York delegation are all grafters and thieves." "Well," said the lumberman, "there is one who is not—Merritt." "Merritt," said the other, "why he's the Speaker of the House and the biggest of the lot." Said the lumberman: "If you'll step outside we will argue that question, and I think I can convince you that you are wrong." "Right," said the other, and they went outside. One of them gave the policeman five dollars to see it was a fair fight, and when the ambulance was carrying the slanderer of Speaker Merritt to the hospital, he poked his head over the dashboard

and said: "Stranger, Merritt is an honest man." (Loud laughter.)

I admire the specialists in discovery who risk their lives to find the North or the South Pole, but I think the world gains more on the material side which adds to the distribution of the products of its labor and general happiness by the opening, the day before yesterday, of the railway station on the site of the palace of Haroun-al-Raschid at Bagdad. We can still let the children lie awake or dream frightful dreams about the Arabian Nights, but the railway in developing new regions gives opportunity for those children, as the world becomes increasingly populated, to add to civilization and the better living of all races.

Perhaps the practical value of finding that mythical flagstaff called the North Pole, which has been the dream of discoverers for a century, was best expressed by a quarrel which I heard in Washington between two very charming women—one an ardent partisan of Dr. Cook and the other of Commodore Peary. Cook's claim had received a very black eye, while Peary's seemed fully established, when the defeated lady remarked, with disgust: "Well, anyhow, Dr. Cook is a gentleman and a liar, but Peary is neither." (Laughter.)

We have a new school of politics with us which has been making very rapid strides in the last few years and is represented in both political parties. It appeals to the unrest which is common all over the world. In Europe it is the unrest of labor; in China it is the awakening of the possibilities of liberty caused by the return of the students from Western civilization. With us in the United States it exists, but its definition is difficult. The agitators of the new school say to a very busy

people absorbed in their ordinary affairs and giving only quadrennially close attention to politics: "You are deprived of your liberties. We will see that they are restored to you. You in your elective capacity through the ballot box should perform the functions of President and courts and congresses and legislatures and municipal bodies. You should initiate laws without the bother of representatives to prepare and perfect them. You should have the power. You should do away with the limitations which enable a decision of the court to stand that you don't like, or a judge to sit on the bench who is unpopular." These hairtrigger philosophers do not know that every one of these schemes was thoroughly thrashed out by those extraordinary and levelheaded men who framed the Constitution of the United States. They had before them the example of a thousand years of history of these experiments and their purpose was to form a government of orderly liberty, to prevent the mad passion of the hour crystallizing into dangerous legislation of revolutionary activities. They placed the common law above Judge Lynch. The briefest but the finest tribute ever paid to the old Constitution was by Mr. Gladstone when he said that it was the greatest instrument ever created at a single session by the mind of man.

During the 125 years since it was adopted the whole world has changed its forms of government, and each change has been towards, as if drawn by a magnet, the liberties secured by that old Constitution of the United States. (Applause.)

The impatient spirit of the new age—the same in China as it is with us—was expressed by the Chinese reformer who called upon an American diplomat at eleven o'clock in the morning and said: "Ex-

cuse me if I am somewhat in a hurry, because I have to prepare a constitution for our country to be submitted to the Conclave at two."

The whole spirit of our Constitution, which is now assailed by the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, is Representative Government—the delegation by a busy people of the powers of government to their own chosen representatives who, by frequent elections, are subjected and again subjected to a revision of their work. Above all, the original and yet fundamental idea of American liberty, which came from that convention and into the Constitution, was that there should be an independent judiciary. The Supreme Court of the United States has so interpreted the broad principles of the Constitution and so checked the effort of popular passion to subvert it that the government under a written Constitution, which was sufficient for three millions of people scattered along the Atlantic sea coast at its beginning, is found sufficient to-day for one hundred millions, peopling and developing a continent.

An English journalist said to me yesterday: "How about Canada?" On this Fourth of July I can say for the American people: We are glad of the relations so mutually prosperous that exist between Canada and the United States. We are glad of the growing prosperity of Canada, but the American people do not want another inch of territory more than they have now anywhere in the world. (Applause.) The Filipinos wanting independence and our navy to protect them in doing what they like, the Porto Ricans wanting immediate citizenship and then statehood, and Cuba not knowing what it wants, but holding us responsible, gives

all the trouble outside of our own boundaries which we desire. (Laughter.)

A little story, and a new one, which happily illustrates that representative government still prevails in the United States, came to me the other day. The most promising of the candidates for Congress before the Congressional Convention had selected a friend to make the speech presenting his name. When the time came for nominations he was so nervous and the preliminary proceedings so long that he went out frequently for liquid refreshment. While he was absent his friends found a more eloquent advocate to present his name. When he returned this stranger, to him, was describing in glowing terms the qualifications of his candidate. The candidate, not knowing it was himself who was presented, turned to his friend whom he thought was to make the nominating speech and said: "For heaven's sake, when that man sits down withdraw my name. If there is any cuss before this convention as a candidate who possesses the qualifications which this speaker is describing, I am not in his class." (Laughter.)

Well, gentlemen, I have celebrated the Fourth of July many and many a time at home and in different parts of our country. I graduated on the 26th of June, 1856, from Yale and delivered the oration at Peekskill on the fourth of July, and I have been at it ever since. I have joined in the celebration in many countries of Europe and several times upon the sea, but it is peculiarly appropriate and never more appropriate than now, that this celebration should be in the great metropolis of the British Empire. It emphasizes the perpetuity of the friendship which now exists and always will exist between the British Empire and the United States. It em-

phasizes the fact that every difference which could possibly lead to trouble between us has been settled through the medium of diplomacy and arbitration. It emphasizes the fact that each is proud of the growth, the strength, the power and development of the other. It emphasizes the fact that there is a great mission in this world for peace and humanity and that this mission is largely in the custody of English-speaking peoples. (Loud applause.)

## Speech at the Annual Banquet Celebrating the One Hundred and Forty-fourth Anniversary of the New York Chamber of Commerce, Waldorf-Astoria, November 21, 1912.

President Claflin in introducing Senator Depew said: "Our final toast to-night is 'Theory and Experience.' The response will be by an old friend, an ever youthful friend, one whose youth seems perennial even as that of the Chamber itself. We have loved him and honored him for years and we welcome him to-night with joy—the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew." (Applause.)

Mr. Depew:

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

I have been introduced many times in the course of my long career, but this is the first time it has ever been suggested that my age was coeval with the one hundred and forty-four years of the Chamber of Commerce. (Laughter.)

Of those years the present year of 1912 is one of the most important and interesting. We cover a wide field, and it is our duty to consider everything which affects our foreign and domestic commerce and business generally.

Three events of the highest importance are uppermost in our minds—this terrific war between the Balkans and Greece, on the one hand, and Turkey on the other, which threatens to involve the great powers and will certainly change the map of Europe; next, the International Congress and

Boards of Trade of most of the commercial cities of the world who held their sessions in our country and were the guests of this Chamber; and, lastly, the government of the United States for the third time in fifty-six years passing into the hands of the Democratic party.

All the power and influence of the Chamber of Commerce of New York have been given to the efforts, so strenuously made in recent years, to promote the peace of the world. Until within a few months it seemed as if the peace movement had made more progress than in all preceding time, and the prospects of early success were very great. Suddenly a war breaks out which proves how unstable are the relations between nations. A savage contest, which was decided by battle for the Turks six hundred years ago, is suddenly renewed after six centuries in one of the bloodiest wars of modern times. This war illustrates how near the nations are at all times to a sudden and violent appeal for the settlement of their difficulties and the gratification of their passion, by the arbitrament of the sword.

An American woman writes that she stood beside King Nicholas of Montenegro when he gave the order for his son to fire the cannon, the shell from which exploded soon after in the camp of the Turks on the other side of the valley. Within four weeks fifty thousand men were dead or wounded. The victorious hosts were battling with their defeated but defiant and stubborn enemies day after day, the armies of all countries of Europe were mobilizing and their navies put in active commission, and the only barrier to the most terrific and destructive war of modern times was the will and power of the Emperor of Germany and the Premier of Great

Britain. The exchanges and the markets of Europe and Asia were facing possibilities and experiencing revolutionary changes which had not occurred since the time of the first Napoleon. It is within recent recollection of everybody here present that the United States became a world power and as such interested in this revolution. Nothing illustrates our happy situation better than that while we are in it we are not of it. If the Emperor and the Premier were unable either to prevent others or keep their own countries out of the conflict, happily nothing could drag us into it. But this situation has a pregnant lesson for us. It shows that, after all has been done and is being done for peace between nations, the unexpected may happen at any time. It demonstrates that for our peace, for our commerce, for the protection of our coasts and maintenance of our proper position in the world without war, our fleet should be kept up to a standard adequate to the necessity of any situation in which we may be placed. (Applause.)

The meeting in our country of the commercial representatives of all nations was one of the agencies for peace, but it also demonstrated that we are to be more and more dependent as years go by upon our share in the commerce of the world. While government farms were plenty and free for the settler, we could live happily in continental isolation, but now the situation is changed. From almost purely agricultural we have become more largely a manufacturing people. A gathering of the representatives of all the activities and industries of Europe within our borders was not only a revelation to them, but a university for commercial education to us. Their amazement and interest were not so much as to the size and development

and resources of our country as to our wonderful internal commerce. Here was the greatest market in the world. Here were more money and more material exchanged than in almost all the rest of the world put together. Here was an internal commerce between the states which was more than double that of their foreign commerce with each other and with all the rest of the world. I met many of them, and their eagerness to share in the commercial possibilities of our forty-eight states amounted almost to hysteria. (Laughter and applause.)

A question of supreme importance, and one in which this Chamber is most deeply interested, is how far and on what terms and on what basis our doors shall be thrown open. Shall this mighty question be decided by theory or by experience? We are all glad, however, to see our visitors and there is no doubt but that the results will be beneficial to us all.

A little incident occurred recently to me which shows that after all we are close together. The sense of humor and its development is one of the tests of human relationship. When I was in London last summer a successful banker said to me, "How was the weather on the continent this summer?" "Well," I said, "it was so cold in the hottest place in France that I had to put a spirit lamp under the bulb of the thermometer to raise it to sixty Fahrenheit." He said, "Just fancy." (Laughter.)

I was in Boston a few weeks since, and on our way in the taxi to the hotel we passed by the Common where the Italians were celebrating some festival with fireworks and bombs. A well-known citizen of Boston who met me said, "You have not been to our city recently?" I said, "No, but the cordiality

of our reception here to-night was exceedingly gratifying to me and touched me very deeply, with the fireworks illuminating the sky and the exploding bombs filling the air on our arrival." He said, "I assure you, sir, that they were not for you at all." (Laughter.)

In these two instances we see the link which Gladstone so happily mentioned of the tie that binds us with our kin across the sea. (Laughter.)

Last week the papers recorded that a lady arrived at Joplin, Mo., who was 113 years of age, and she was accompanied by her youngest son who was 85. She remarked, as a reason for her visit, that neither she nor any of her family had ever seen a railroad, a trolley car, an electric light, or a moving picture show. Inquired of as to the rest of her family, she said that she had left her eldest son at home to take care of the other children, her oldest being 95 years. (Laughter.) Now, I am not so old as this good lady, and unlike her I have had some experience in the world. I closed a vigorous campaign in 1856, during which I had for three months made the platform ring with eloquence for Fremont and freedom, to wake up the morning after election to the victory of Buchanan. Buchanan's administration and its disastrous results were the inspiration of political oratory and Republican party success for many a year, but looking back calmly over the intervening years and recalling the situation as it was at that period, I think that we have done injustice to President James Buchanan. He was a statesman fully capable of the duties of Chief Magistrate in normal times, but unequal to them in periods of revolution. As in the East, the forces of the Crescent and the Cross, which have been facing one another for six hundred years, have now come to settlement by

arms which all the powers of the world could not stop, so at that time the battle of the ages between freedom and slavery had reached its culmination. Buchanan did the best he could with his lights, to avert the catastrophe, but it was not in human power to do it.

In 1892 the Democratic party came into power with Grover Cleveland as President. I knew Cleveland both at the bar and as President. I offered him the attorneyship of the New York Central Railroad at Buffalo, which included the large business at that time of the western terminal of the New York Central lines, and told him that he could retain his own business at the same time, and that his income would be more than doubled by the assumption of the post. His answer convinced me that he was a very strong and a very remarkable man. He said, "I am now earning enough for my needs, and no amount of money could tempt me to add to the hours of my work or the diminution of the days of my play." He always claimed that the difficulties of his administration were two things: one that he was the heir of the financial and industrial disturbance which had grown out of the surrender of the country to the silver craze; the other that he was betrayed in his policies by a minority of his own party sufficiently strong to prevent his carrying out what he believed would, in practice, have been for the best interest of the country. However, as things go in a country which is governed by parties, every administration is judged by its results and not by its intentions. Nevertheless, I believe that it is already the calm judgment of history that one of the ablest and certainly one of the most courageous of the Presidents

of the United States was Grover Cleveland. (Applause.)

Now Governor Wilson enters upon the Presidency with none of the difficulties which surrounded Buchanan and none of the handicaps which troubled Cleveland. The political sea was never so calm and the political skies were never so propitious. In the midst of war we are at peace with all the world with no dangers threatening from abroad. Our internal conditions are as good if not better than they have ever been. A "bumper" crop, unequalled in the history of our harvests, is to add to our national and individual wealth. Our internal trade is of unequalled volume, and with the movement of this crop to be largely increased. The mill and the furnace are running on full time. Labor was never so fully employed, nor with wages so high. The farm was never receiving such returns. Our exports and imports were never so large and the balance of trade in our favor runs into the millions of dollars. Our only scarcity is of labor in many of our industrial centers. There never was a better time when practical experiments with long-cherished theories could be carried out with less danger or with more benefit, if the theories are correct. (Applause.)

The mission of the hour seems to be to reduce the high cost of living, without lessening the opportunities for earning a living. The experimenters must bear carefully in mind the lesson taught by the well-known epitaph upon the tomb-stone in the country churchyard, "I was well. I wanted to be better. I took physic and here I am." (Laughter.)

While I belong to the opposite school of economic principles from that of the successful party, I do not see how it is possible for that party to fail to

try the merits of its principles, its platform and its promises. We hear much in the vocabulary of politics of the mandate of the people. Taft and Roosevelt stood for a tariff for protection and Wilson for a tariff for revenue only. The combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt is a million and a half more than that for Wilson. Nevertheless, under our system of government, by which pluralities and not majorities are required, the Baltimore platform and its advocates are in the possession of every branch of the government and the mandate is to carry out their promises. All business men, and I am looking at these questions now only from the business standpoint, insist that the work shall be begun at the earliest possible moment and finished in the quickest possible time. The trained American business mind fears no conditions when factors are thoroughly understood. The genius of American enterprise, the optimism of the American spirit, the confidence in American judgment, have pulled us through many a panic, repaired the losses of the troublous times, and placed our business again upon firm foundations, and with prospering and prosperous conditions. The only one thing which the American business man cannot meet is uncertainty. The business men of the country pulled us triumphantly through the depression of '95 and '96, and a few of the captains of industry, placing patriotically at the service of their country their reputations, their acknowledged ability and their fortunes, pulled us safely through the panic of 1907. But in both these instances conditions were known. There were no uncertainties about the factors. The only question was the existence of ability to meet them. With the results of the election, the danger to the judiciary and the recall of

the judges have ceased to be a question. It will continue to exist probably in that marvelous city of Seattle as an object lesson. There it takes a majority to elect a mayor, but a small per cent. can put him on the recall. The result is that the highest office of that municipality is a greased plank. (Laughter.) It takes a majority to put the citizen to the top and less than a quarter of the vote may pull him down to the bottom, and the procession goes merrily on for the gaiety of nations and the booming of Seattle.

President Wilson in numberless speeches has felicitously put the remedies which he proposed instead of the drastic ones which are declared in his platform. He repeats before and after election, and we know that he believes what he says, that he can take all the evils there are in the tariff out without interfering with the business of the country, and he can suppress the evils there are in the trusts without disturbing labor or capital. I am sure that all of us, of all parties, wish him Godspeed, and we of all parties trust that theory may be so chastened by experience, and experience so liberalized by theory that the net results of the measures and policies of the incoming administration will be the continuance and the improvement of the happy business conditions of the country in which we rejoice to-night. (Loud Applause.)

## Address at the Exercises at the Republican Club of New York, in Memory of the late James S. Sherman, Vice-President of the United States, November 24, 1912.

*Mr. Chairman and Friends:*

We all loved Jim Sherman. I never knew any man who was so long in public life, with the jealousies and animosities which are incident to such a career, who enjoyed to such an unusual degree the affection of his fellow citizens of both parties. His career may be one of the few exceptions to the rule that a man is not without honor except in his own country. For twenty-two years his neighbors who knew him best kept returning him to the House of Representatives, and doubtless this tribute would have been paid him so long as he lived had he not been promoted to the Vice-Presidency, the second office in the gift of the people of the United States. Those who knew him intimately, and they hailed from every State and Territory, never addressed him as "Congressman Sherman" or "Vice-President Sherman," but they all came under the influence of that irresistible manner of his which made one feel that there was established with the Congressman or the Vice-President a most chummy relation which only exists among college classmates. He was the most popular undergraduate at Hamilton College during his college course, and he carried with him through life the youthful feeling of cordiality, of generosity, of unshaken confidence in his fellows, which kept enlarging as he grew older

into cordial intimacy and affection which with most students end with graduation.

But we must, on an occasion like this, look beyond the personal characteristics of our friend in the effort to form an estimate of what gave him his promotion and distinction in public life; what were the ambitions by which he secured so large a degree of the confidence and esteem of the American people. Environment and heredity have most to do in the formation of character and in the making of a career. He had an heredity which molded his mind and predestined his career. But he lived also all his life in an environment which taught freedom and crystallized his opinions upon public questions. He was born and passed his whole life in one neighborhood, which is part of that remarkable valley of the Mohawk that extends from Albany to Buffalo. He had seen settlements for manufacture start upon those fertile farms and then become prosperous villages and grow into important cities. He had seen these manufacturing centers constantly expanding in the value of their output, in the enlargement of their facilities, in the extension of their markets, in the increase of population and in the general and extraordinary prosperity. All this had happened under his eye while he was progressing from boyhood to youth, from youth to manhood and from manhood to middle age. He had seen the wonderful effects of the development of water power, which had created happy communities out of what had been before a wilderness. His studies naturally led to an inquiry into the sources of this development which had attracted the attention not only of the people of the State, but of the whole country. As his investigations and observations extended he became firmly convinced that these

were all due to a policy of government, and that that policy was the protection of the American manufacturer and giving him so far as possible the possession of the American market. In his travels abroad and in his close examination of conditions in other countries he came to the conclusion, so fixed in his mind that it amounted to a religion, that the American market was the best market in the world and the largest, that the stability of our institutions and American citizenship of a high type depended upon so protecting that market for American labor and capital that competition with conditions so different in other highly organized industrial nations should not be able to deteriorate the standard of American wages and living. This was the fundamental principle of all his political career and the active motive of his life. At a time when that idea had become so unpopular with a percentage of the press of the United States, he supported it, imperiling his renomination for the Vice-Presidency, which he intensely desired, both for the honor, and because it would make him the only one in the long line of Vice-Presidents to whom that honor had come, by emphatically stating in his speech of acceptance and in a speech preceding his nomination his views upon this question in a way which his associates and friends thought unnecessary, but he was determined that if re-elected the people of the United States should be in no doubt as to what he regarded as essential to the prosperity and future of the country.

His speech of acceptance and a message given later in the canvass are among the notable incidents in our political history of a man when the tide is turning otherwise against his opinions daring to risk everything rather than have his countrymen

mistaken as to his views and policies which he would, if possible, carry out.

He died as he had lived and worked in the advocacy of these industrial policies.

The period of his service in Congress of twenty-two years was for our financial and industrial stability among the most critical in our history. With the close of the Civil War, we encountered all the difficulties of the formation of a new government. New conditions arose which had never existed before. The problem of the accumulation of great wealth and its proper distribution, so far as legislation could legitimately affect it, was an urgent problem. The creation of great corporations and their combination into greater ones, necessitated by competition and the need of economy in administration, presented other problems. The sectional difficulty had been settled, but these questions which grew out of extraordinary prosperity were the ones to be solved. It was a period of experiment from the day he entered Congress until he took the office of Vice-President, and when the crucial period arrived during the administration of President Cleveland for a trial of a new experiment different from the one in which he believed he had reached a place among the leaders of the House of Representatives. It is the peculiarity of all representative bodies and of every association that they are governed by leaders. The average man may rise and reach Congress because he is a leader in his locality, but when he comes to exercise the larger duties which devolve upon him as a Representative, he finds it is easier to have others in whom he has confidence do his thinking than to do it himself, because with most men the most difficult task, the hardest work in

the world and the most tiresome is to think and to think hard.

During this period about six men led the House of Representatives, and they were led in their turn by two very remarkable and masterful statesmen, Speaker Reed and Speaker Cannon. Mr. Sherman was one of this group during all this critical time, and up to the period of his promotion from the House of Representatives to the Vice-Presidency, he was a leader in the great fight against the effort to make silver the standard of value, either by its own merit or by some standard of union with gold, and also of the experiment with President Cleveland, so earnestly attempted, of getting rid of the principle of the protection of American industry and reducing the tariff to a revenue basis.

After the disastrous panic from 1894 to 1896 he was intimately associated with McKinley and with Dingley in changing the legislation upon this question, and his constructive ability was largely instrumental in the framing of what was known as the Dingley Tariff Bill, which reversed the policy of the preceding administration and placed the country again upon a high protective basis. There followed for about eight years a development of our national resources, the extension of our railway systems, the addition to our industrial output, the settlement of new lands, the government of new territories, and the further accumulation of power in corporations and individuals which led to almost revolutionary legislation and a period of great unrest in the public mind. Everyone who shared in this prosperity came to believe, under the influence of a remarkable agitation in powerful sections of the press and many political agitators, that while they were better off than ever before they had not received their full

share of this extraordinary development of prosperity and wealth. So strong and deep-seated was this conviction of a wrong which could not be accurately defined, that nearly every public man in the country saw how much his popularity could be increased and how much it depended upon adding fuel to the fire. The most remarkable part of our friend's career is the manner and the courage with which he resisted these temptations. No one in public life knew better the trend of current opinion, and no one was more capable of becoming one of its leaders or exponents. He had, however, no sympathy whatever with destructive policies of any kind. His mind was constructive and his ineradicable optimism made him cling persistently to the policies and motives which he believed had produced the conditions in the country in which all rejoiced, though they might not think they had got their share. He was an individualist. He had worked out his own career, with no advantageous surroundings or help, and he believed everyone could do the same according to his abilities. He admired intensely the man who had succeeded far greater than himself in politics or in business, but at the same time he believed that they deserved what they had won, and that it was due to remarkable ability, with the free opportunities that could only come where opportunities were so free as existed in the United States. Envy had no place in his composition. He was pre-eminently what is known as a stand-patter and proud of it. He lost no opportunity upon the platform or in the press of acquainting his fellow citizens with his views. There might be doubt about others, Senators and Congressmen might waver, candidates might sit upon the fence or straddle it, but no one ever doubted where could always be

found the Vice-President. Scores of able men in public life who were equally courageous during this craze were driven out and consigned to private life. It is a marvel how he retained his hold and popularity. But the same qualities which made his countrymen call him "Sunny Jim," dissipated all enmity and disarmed opposition. It is most remarkable that at this peculiar and critical juncture such a man could have won without opposition this coveted honor of the second nomination to the second highest office in the gift of the people.

Now, my friends, what is a stand-patter anyway? He is never praised, but generally abused. He is attacked as an obstructionist. He is said to stand in the way of progress and to be the enemy of reform. But an intelligent and courageous stand-patter is a wise reformer who does not believe that all change is reform. He is a beneficent progressive who believes that progress is the law of nations and of individuals, but along demonstrated lines, and not either by excursions into the unknown or the repetition of experiments which have proved failures wherever tried.

I have spoken of heredity as influencing character, and the stand-patism in our friend came from the strain of Puritanism which he inherited from old Captain John Sherman of Cromwell's Army, who was his ancestor as well as mine, and who came over, because of his faith which he would not surrender, among the early Puritans of Massachusetts. That Puritan strain kept him firm in the faith, both in speech and in practice, and while he had become to an extraordinary degree, unlike his ancestor, one of the most genial, companionable and lovable of men, nevertheless, like his ancestor, he would have

gone to the stake for a dogma in religion or into obscurity for a principle in politics.

Lincoln was a stand-patter in his time. He resisted all the passionate and violent forces of his day. The Abolitionists, led by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, had no faith in him as a candidate for the Presidency, while, after he became President, it was only because he was the most remarkable man of his time that he was able to resist the radical assaults of Senator Wade and Thaddeus Stevens in Congress and Horace Greeley in the press. The most remarkable stand-patism in Mr. Lincoln's administration was his resistance for nearly three years of a determination so strong to make him issue his Emancipation Proclamation that impeachment was freely discussed among the more advanced of the radicals.

I have all my life been a close observer of legislation, from early participation as a member of the Legislature and subsequent study and twelve years in the United States Senate. I was in the Legislature of our State fifty-one years ago. During my second term I was for one session of the Legislature, while the Speaker was unable to perform his duty, the Acting Speaker of the New York Assembly. The House was evenly divided between both parties. The position of Speaker was a most difficult one, and it gave me an interest in the office and an understanding of its requirements which have lasted me through life. I have an exceeding admiration for anybody who can acceptably perform the duties of the presiding officer of a deliberative body. Such a place requires more tact, skill, quick judgment and instantaneous decision than any other place in public life. The presiding officer must have the support not only of his political

friends, but he must enjoy the confidence of his political enemies, because of his fairness and judicial temperament, and he must possess almost the temper of an angel.

The greatest Speakers I have ever known, and I had the opportunity of knowing much of them, were James G. Blaine and Thomas B. Reed. They had not only an acquired talent, but a positive genius for this office, but they lacked the one essential which made the success of Sherman. Reed raised fierce and violent antagonisms so passionate that if he had not had a great political majority with him, he could not have held his place. Blaine had geniality to a remarkable degree, but he failed to have that hold upon his political opponents by that indescribable college chumminess which characterized Sherman's relations with all men.

In the Senate we have few rules. Mr. Sherman had been chosen by different Speakers in the House of Representatives to act in their place when they left the chair and to preside over the Committee of the Whole. The House is governed by a collection of rules which are very rigid and a line of precedents which fills volumes. It was a most difficult thing for Mr. Sherman to be taken from a place like that to preside over a body which is governed practically by no rules whatever, but is a rule unto itself. Senators, especially the older ones, resent any effort on the part of the chair to curb their wanderings or the carrying out of their own, sometimes very unregulated, wills. One of the strongest men in the Senate, as well as one of the most quarrelsome, took a position, was called to order and the Vice-President decided against him. The Senator instantly declared that the independence of the Senate had been invaded by the Vice-President, who was

not a member of the Senate, but only its Constitutional presiding officer; that he had no right to use a position which was largely one of courtesy to violate the traditions of the most august body in the world and deny, or attempt to deny, to a Senator the rights to which every Senator was entitled. It was a personal attack; it was a bitter one. The scene was dramatic. The situation was very tense. Most presiding officers would have lost their temper, or at least shown heat. It was a studied effort to humiliate the Vice-President. Sherman's attitude was perfect. There was not the slightest indication in his manner or speech that the personal element was in his thought. He was the presiding officer personified. With perfect calmness, good humor and dignity, he stated the case to a breathless Senate. He did it so clearly and convincingly that the Senate sat down upon the tumultuous Senator, and Sherman's decisions were never after questioned.

The study of Vice-Presidents has been to me always an interesting one. I knew Mr. Hamlin, the Vice-President during Mr. Lincoln's first term, and all of them since. The Vice-Presidency is not an ideal position. It was placed in the Constitution to provide an heir to the Presidency. Curiously enough the framers of the Constitution never looked to the contingency of both President and Vice-President dying. That has been remedied only within recent years. In seeking to find some duties for the Vice-President, it was finally decided to make him the presiding officer of the Senate, with no power except to vote when there was a tie. It requires a statesman of unusual gifts to sustain with dignity this position, and have no portion of the power which apparently should belong to the

second highest office in the country. A father encourages his son and heir to prepare himself for his place and the administration of his estate, but Presidents want to succeed themselves for at least one term and resent any prominence or popularity which might make a Vice-President a competitor. So Presidents are almost always jealous of the Vice-President, and keep him at a distance. They rarely want his advice, and they do not want him to share in any way in the responsibilities or in the fame of the acts of the administration. This is not peculiar to our Presidents. I have known the heirs to the throne of several countries in Europe. There is no position so difficult. The sovereign is never on good terms with his heir. The older the sovereign grows the more distasteful become the activities of the son who is to be his successor. It requires the rarest tact and forbearance for the son to keep even on good social relations with his father, the Emperor or the King, or his mother, the Queen. I remember, because I knew him so well, the difficulties which surrounded the late King Edward in this respect. His mother was a most masterful and capable ruler, but as she grew older she became more jealous of the prerogatives of the throne. Her son for a quarter of a century was old enough and capable of being King, and it is one of the highest tributes to his diplomatic ability that he could have considerable influence and still so adjust himself to the situation as not to arouse the jealousies of his mother. Presidents do not welcome Vice-Presidents to Cabinet consultations or conferences at the White House. Nothing is so disturbing, I might almost say offensive, to a President as to have it generally understood that some measure of administration, some suggestion to the Congress, some policy

enunciated, came from the Vice-President. It has been said that the only exception to this rule was Hobart. Mr. Hobart was a most agreeable gentleman, with wonderful tact and ability of self-effacement, while McKinley, on the other hand, was one of the most sweet tempered and amiable of men. Undoubtedly Mr. Hobart was oftener in the White House and in consultation with the President than any of his predecessors, but when this fact became exaggerated in the press into a common statement that the Vice-President was consulted on all questions and his advice in a measure potential, it so annoyed the President that it would not have been long before this cordial relation was terminated. Sherman had been in Congress through many administrations and thoroughly understood this situation. He never attempted in any way to influence or direct the administration of President Taft. He was always ready for consultation, but never let it be known that he had been consulted. If a conference had occurred where his view had been accepted, he would have been the first to assert, if the question had been raised, that the conclusions arrived at were the final judgment of the President himself.

Mr. Sherman enjoyed life in every phase. He had the rarest of social gifts. But his popularity was not dependent upon these. He was an indefatigable worker for his party or for his friends, but the hold which he had upon all who knew him was not dependent upon these. Everyone who knew him at all knew the wonderful fidelity, persistence and strength of his friendships. He would go farther and risk more to befriend a friend in whom he believed, but who was for the moment under a cloud, than almost any man in public life. The

steadfastness which characterized his adherence to his political opinions was equally strong in his personal relations. By reason of these exceptional qualities, he has joined the majority regarded and mourned by a multitude of friends. But beyond this generation he will live. There are two kinds of men who rise to distinction: one is the genius who is governed by no rules, the other is the man who is governed by rules the same as others, but somehow he is exceptional. Precisely what makes him exceptional it is difficult to discover. Among his friends are many who are as able and as cultured, whose character is as high, and whose work is as good, and yet in a way which they could not explain he is their superior. In other words, he is an exceptional man.

Mr. Sherman was one of the finest representatives of this class. He knew how to do or to say the right thing at the right time. He knew how to differ with others, and to differ radically, and at the same time retain a whole-hearted and cordial relationship even with those who could not agree with him. It was his gift to have the confidence in a rare degree of those who differed with him because they never distrusted him. His career will always be a bright one in the history of our State, and in the story of our Vice-Presidents he will always hold a unique and distinguished place.

## Speech at the Luncheon of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, at the Metropolitan Club, November 25, 1912, in Celebration of the Evacuation of New York by the British Army, November 25, 1783.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

Critics of our ancient and honorable Society say that we exist for no other purpose than to perpetuate, on the principle of heredity, the founders of our organization. This meeting is ample refutation of such a charge. The educational value of celebrating, by appropriate service, the leading events of the Revolutionary War by annual meetings on their natal day cannot be overestimated. One of the defects of our school system is its failure to emphasize the foundation of the Republic, the principles which have been won by the success of the Revolutionary War and the names and the merits of founders and the principles of the Constitution.

There is no more picturesque event in our annals than the evacuation of this country by the British Army after the successful close of the Revolutionary War. The seven years' struggle was over in the triumph of the colonies and the foundation of the Republic. The terms of peace had been ratified, and it was only necessary to arrange the preliminaries for the departure of the enemy from our shores. They were enemies no longer because amicable relations had been established between the mother country and the colonies by the recog-

nition of the independence of the latter. The American Army was in camp at Newburgh, under the command of General Washington, and the British Army at New York, under the command of Sir Guy Carlton. It was arranged that these two generals should meet at Dobbs Ferry, which was about midway between their two camps. To those who were born upon the banks of the Hudson, and whose ancestors were involved in the struggle, this meeting was of unusual interest. The place had long been known as about the center of what was called the neutral ground. It was the little territory between the outlying posts of either army which was constantly raided by irregulars of both. Within a short distance was Sleepy Hollow, where André had been captured by the three famous farmers of Westchester, Paulding, Williams and Van Wart. This event, as much as any other, had contributed to the salvation of the patriot cause. The two generals undoubtedly approached the place by the Albany Post Road, which is still the main source of communication along the Hudson. Both armies had tramped over it in victory and defeat many times during the course of the struggle. Every foot of it was familiar to the American staff and soldiers, as it was also to that of their enemies. I doubt if any automobile could have passed over it in that early day. For seven years it had been absolutely neglected, and, in its best state, was anything but an ideal highway. But to the bold riders who were to meet at Dobbs Ferry, the surface of the roadway was of little moment.

To-day this historical highway witnesses a procession far different from the American and British soldiers, the cowboys and the skinners who alternately and frequently marched over it during the

seven years of revolution. The marchers of to-day believe they are tramping for a cause as vital as the one for which Washington fought. They are thirty-five militant suffragettes, with flags and banners and trumpets, on their way to Albany to capture the Governor and Legislature. It is a picturesque procession which would have interested and surprised General Washington and Sir Guy Carlton during their interview at Dobbs Ferry.

At Dobbs Ferry they paused to view the historic spot where was arranged the Evacuation of New York by the British Army, its occupancy by the American Army and the successful close of the Revolution and the placing of the new Republic upon sure foundations built by their valor and cemented by their blood. Thirty of the militant ladies remained at Dobbs Ferry, while five bravely marched on.

The ribald and unsympathetic press reported that the dropping out of the thirty-five was due to fatigue and exhaustion. We know that is a libel upon these fair, courageous women. They stayed to study the history of Dobbs Ferry.

An unsuccessful attack has been made for many years upon this historic name. An enterprising citizen of Colonial Westchester had established a ferry across the river from the Westchester side to Nyack on the Rockland side on the west. To inform the public of this means of communication, he had posted at the landing a sign, painted by himself, "Dobbs, His Ferry." The fact that the Commanders-in-Chief of the two armies met here for the purpose of arranging the details of the evacuation of New York, of its possession by the Continental Army, of all that it signified for the present and the future of our country and to un-

born generations ought to arouse and to intensify local pride in the preservation of such an historic spot. But for years the Post Office Department has been besieged to change the name to some high-sounding suburban title. Some want it called a Manor, after an old English estate, while others would give to it a romantic designation, gathered from the pages of some popular novel whose heroine had attracted their attention. However, the sturdy old families, whose ancestors have been there during the storm and stress of the perilous times of the Revolution, have been able so far to resist these wealthy newcomers, many of whom have no ancestors connected with the glorious days of Washington and the Continental Army. As a Westchester man, with a Westchester ancestry running back to the first settlement of the county and the purchase of land from the Indians, it was one of my most agreeable duties during the years I was United States Senator to prevent the obliteration of this historic name and its associations. If an event of such supreme importance, connected with the origin of any country in Europe had happened at any spot within its borders, it would be a place of pilgrimage for all succeeding generations, and the neighbors instead of wishing to change it, that there might be upon their notepaper a more high-sounding designation, would have rejoiced that they lived in a neighborhood so classic, and look upon the spot, where the commanders of the opposing armies met, with reverential awe.

The neutral ground of which Dobbs Ferry was the center was raided repeatedly by the irregulars of both armies. Two of my grandfathers, both of whom served in the American Army during the war, owned farms in this territory and were acute suf-

ferers. As illustrating how long the passions of the Revolution survived, the day after I was admitted to the bar my father gave me a list of names with the admonition that I must never trust any of them; that if witnesses they would be liars, and if litigants have unworthy cases, and if jurymen always to be challenged, because their fathers or grandfathers were Tories during the Revolution.

This meeting between General Washington and Sir Guy Carlton had its counterpart many years afterward. They were both of the same race and blood. The one was the commander of the forces of the government which had been supreme in the land from its first settlement, and the other the commander of the forces in revolution against that government which had succeeded. Eighty-two years passed, during which the young Republic, recognized then at Dobbs Ferry, had grown to be one of the most powerful nations of the world, when there was another meeting between two generals, one representing the sovereign power of the nation and the other representing the people who were in revolution against its authority. In this case the place was not Dobbs Ferry, New York, but it was Appomattox, Virginia. In the first instance the revolution had been successful; in the second, the revolution had failed. The leaders in the first meeting were General Washington and Sir Guy Carlton; in the second, General Ulysses S. Grant and General Robert E. Lee. The issue of the first of these great meetings was the formation of the new Republic and launching it upon its mission as an independent nation. The issue of the second meeting, eighty-two years afterward, was the reuniting of the partially broken Union and the reestablishment of the Republic upon a surer foundation and

with a larger measure of freedom, opportunity and hopefulness than ever before.

The gathering, as always between great soldiers, must have been largely reminiscent, for Washington had been long an officer in the Colonial forces, serving under the British flag and associating with the British Army, and the incidents of the campaign, so fresh to each of them, were memorable and undoubtedly furnished material for a conversation much longer than the preliminaries which were easily arranged. Sir Guy very properly thought that his army should remain until the meridian. It was a happy suggestion that until the sun has passed toward the setting, the old order of things should remain, and the army representing the old government should still be upon British soil, but when the sun started onward toward its setting, then should the march begin of that evacuation, which should signify and illustrate the setting of the sun of any foreign power within the limits of the new Republic.

A little incident indicates that humor had taken the place of animosity between the two armies. The flagstaff on the battery at Fort George had been greased by the departing British soldiers to make it as difficult as possible for Americans to climb and raise the American standard. However, the enjoyment which they expected from this practical joke was spoiled by the ingenuity and agility of an American sailor. He succeeded in reaching the top of the flagstaff, and the last detachment of British soldiers which entered their boats to join their ships saw the American flag floating from the top of the greased pole, from which their own standard had been lowered an hour before.

Seven years before the entry of the Continental

Army into New York it had been driven from the island, and its retreat had been along the same highway upon which it returned in triumph seven years later. When one recalls the privations and hardships of the revolutionary soldiers during this long war, their sufferings from lack of food and clothing, as well as the perils which they had encountered, one can well imagine the elation, the enthusiasm and the elastic step with which they made their triumphal entry into our metropolitan city.

It was on that day that our Society of the Cincinnati had its first banquet. The British fleet had passed the Narrows and were out of sight when Governor Clinton gave a dinner to the American officers at Fraunce's Tavern. The Cincinnati Society had been formed by General Washington in the camp at Newburg on the fourth of July, 1783, and on the twenty-fifth of November, 1783, the Governor of the State of New York, who was also a Brigadier General in the Continental Army, gave this dinner to Washington and his officers. All of them were members of the newly formed Society of the Cincinnati. No such banquet has ever been held in our country. The war was over, and these veterans were to bid each other good-by, never to be again reunited, and to return to their homes. The Republic, for which they had fought seven years, was now a recognized sovereignty among the nations of the world, but the problems of organization and of government for the Thirteen Colonies cast a gloom upon the gathering. These veterans, who were both soldiers and statesmen, knew that there were before them perils as great as those from which their valor had rescued the country. In the next five years of trial and experiment with government this adventure came near being wrecked.

Failure attended the preliminary trials until finally the Constitution, as we have it to-day, was adopted by that extraordinary convention over which General Washington presided. Its adoption by the convention was largely due to the persuasion and the personal influence of General Washington. Its adoption by the States was largely due to the officers of the Continental Army, the comrades of Washington, who in every State became the recognized advocates of this work of that wonderful body over which their beloved commander had presided. That Constitution has lived for one hundred and twenty-five years, practically unchanged. Gladstone's tribute to it, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," has been justified by the experiences of the years. All that we are as a nation is due to the wonderful foresight of those men who framed this great instrument and to the adaptability of their work to every change in conditions during this century and a quarter.

After one hundred and twenty-five years of marvelous development, expansion, prosperity, liberty and happiness under the Constitution, we are now told it must be altered and its fundamental spirit of Representative Government destroyed. To uphold this great charter of law and order with liberty, is one of the duties which devolve upon this Society of the Cincinnati, the sacred trust imposed upon its members by the fathers.

But we go back to the banquet. Let us for a moment recreate the scene. It was the custom on such occasions for toasts and responsive speeches. We can easily imagine that the first sentiment was to the new Republic and a prayer for its perpetuity. The next, with more acclaim and more emotion than

any compliment ever offered to a human being, was to the commander-in-chief, General Washington. The response of the General, for he was no speaker, was not in words, but in an emotion which was shared by them all. Then came a grateful recognition of the services of our French allies and of a bright and witty response from General Lafayette. We can see the martial, rotund figure, with genial countenance, of General Knox rising to respond for the army. "Auld Lang Syne" has been the anthem which has closed many an historic gathering, but never was it sung with such fervor and feeling as on this occasion when the past was secure, when the present was so glorious, when heroes were clasping hands, and when the future was so full of doubt, and, at the same time, of hope.

Nine days afterward came the most pathetic incident in the history of the Army of the United States. The officers had again assembled to bid a last farewell to General Washington. It was once more in old Fraunce's Tavern. The war was over, the victory had been won, the Republic was founded, the army disbanded. These companions in arms who had suffered so much and fought so gloriously for seven years were to give up their commands and return to their homes. To many it was to privation and poverty, for everything had been sacrificed for their country. A hand clasp, a muffled good-bye and tears obscuring the sight was the farewell of these gallant men to their wonderful commander. They were all members of our Society. They were bidding good-bye to the Commander-in-chief of the army who was returning to private life, and also the President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati. They all felt that while they might meet in the future in their several States and the general

Society once a year, there was no possibility that all should be gathered again, and, therefore, that this was the most significant meeting of the Society formed for such a glorious purpose for the country, and in whose perpetuity they believed was the preservation of the principles upon which the government had been founded. It was their hope and prayer that their descendants should strive through succeeding generations to preserve intact all that had been won by the valor of their ancestors.

## Speech on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Grand Jewel of the 33°, at the Masonic Hall, New York, December 20, 1912.

*Brethren:*

Many things occur to one during life which are memorable in their influence upon character and career; others which give distinct pleasure so great as to separate that day from others and make it a red-letter one. This is especially the case with gifts. No boy ever forgets his first watch. No girl ever forgets her first bracelet or ring. Little note is taken of these incidents at the time, but they become more precious with advancing years, and as the days of the gift recede the memory of them grows brighter.

Middle age also has its gifts from the larger circle which has then been formed and the closer intimacies which have been made. It is after one has passed seventy that evidences of friendship are more cherished. It is one of the lamentable incidents of a career that those whom we love and cherish drop away and join the majority while we go marching on. The circle narrows, and, except for certain redeeming features, the period beyond threescore and ten would grow more and more lonely until one stood absolutely alone. This must be the case with those who have not cherished, during their opportunities, love and brotherhood. It is possible to ward off this isolation by keeping abreast with the times and active in all living discussions and interests. It is possible to form associations with

those who have come later upon the stage, but they are never the warm friendships, the intimacies and the confidences of youth and of middle age.

There is one absolute panacea, however, for these ills, and that is found within the bosom of Masonry. Masonry is ever young, and its associations ever fresh. Within its walls the sentiment which is the inspiration of the Craft is the perpetual youth of friendship, of companionship and of brotherhood by means of the sacred tie.

We are now within a few days of Christmas. It is a period of festivities which are peculiarly affiliated with our Order. We celebrate at Christmas time the coming upon earth in the person of Divinity appearing as a man, the universality of love and peace and good will among men. It was a doctrine which had never been known and never practiced before. It has been working its way for nearly two thousand years, until now it is recognized universally as the mainspring of action for happiness both with individuals and with nations. The fact that there is a war raging in Europe does not militate against the growth of this idea. In the olden time the world was always at war—at war for territory, for revenge, for racial hatred, or for the ambitions of reigning dynasties in monarchical countries. There were certain great questions which could be solved only by war. With us, it was the question of slavery, but that eliminated we will have peace among ourselves forever. This war in the Balkans is a war of religions which has been slumbering for six hundred years. The Balkan peasant wears mourning upon his hat for defeat in a battle with the Turks six centuries ago. The oppression by the Mohammedans of the Christian natives during all these ages has finally culminated in the present struggle.

The victory of the Balkan Christian over the Mohammedan Turk is due to the advancement of the ages, as well as to modern ideas penetrating their mountains, reaching them in their schools, being carried back to them by their immigrants who have come to America, made a competency and then returned home, while nothing in all this time has been able to penetrate the fatalism of the Koran. The spirit which started two thousand years ago, working out for these Balkan peoples brotherhood with each other and a common faith which united them, notwithstanding territorial divisions, has enabled them to beat the Turk, who has advanced little according to modern ideas from his ancestor who swept over Europe in that distant age.

But Masonry has grown stronger with the centuries. It appeals to the best element of human nature, to the only living thing there is in humanity, and that is the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

There are distinctions in this world, not so great as there used to be, but they still exist and always will. In a Republic like ours all men are equal one day in the year, when, as citizens, they deposit their ballots, but every other day in the year they differ in fortune, in station and in almost every way. But those who enter the sacred portals of Masonry leave behind their titles and their distinctions and come in all as men and brothers. This is not for one day nor for one year, but for all time. When a Mason has advanced so that he reaches the exalted position of the highest honors in the Scottish Rite, he carries with him not only this brotherhood and all that it means in helpfulness, but he realizes as he never did before that there are gradations in truth. Not but what all truth is the same, but in

the purer and more elevated and more clarified atmosphere of the Scottish Rite degrees all sides of truth and all the beneficent power of truth and all the energizing and recreating power of truth are clearer than they ever were before.

A new society has been formed and assumed a title which has added a new word to the English language. They call themselves "Spugs." Within a month they claim that twenty-two hundred have enrolled under their banner, and each one, both men and women, proudly says, "I am a Spug." The idea of the society is to stop the useless giving at Christmas which desecrates both the day and the gift. A gift is worse than useless; it is an injury unless accompanied by the proper sentiment from the giver and a reciprocal sentiment from the recipient. I know of nothing more demoralizing than the painful consultations of Brown and Smith and Jones with their wives as to what they shall do for Robinson, and of Robinson with his wife of how he shall reciprocate what he is afraid he will get from Brown and Smith and Jones. I know of a lady who from a person she cared nothing about, except socially, received a fan, and the next year she sent it to another whom she cared nothing about, except socially, and another year that person sent it back to the original giver, and then all three became enemies. Christmas in a family, and especially for the children with Santa Claus still a reality, is the most delightful festival of the year.

But you are presenting me with a gift to-night which has a significance not to be found in any Christmas offering. It is more than the watch or the ring or the necklace because it has no duplicates. Money cannot purchase it; rank cannot secure it; power cannot win it. It is the original creation

of the inspired artist who threw into it an expression which none but those entitled to wear it can understand or the sweetness and the charm and the love which it signifies. Its appearance carries the wearer everywhere among brethren whom he never knew before, and who seeing the emblem are his brothers at once. To me, appreciating as I do, all that the emblem stands for, and all that it means, there comes an added significance and power which warms my heart and touches me very deeply. It is that those who have chosen me to be a brother among them have not only conferred upon me that great honor, but that they have also assumed and claimed the privilege of securing this jewel and of giving it to me not only for what it means, but for what they think of me and what they know of the regard I have for them.

## Speech as Chairman at the Pilgrims' Society Luncheon to the Delegates from England, Belgium, Canada and Australia to Arrange for Celebrating 1914, or One Hundred Years of Peace Between the United States and Great Britain, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, May 5, 1913.

*Gentlemen:*

It is a very pleasing duty which I have to perform here to-day. The Pilgrims' Society was organized by the English and Americans in London, and the Americans and English in New York, for the purpose of promoting and perpetuating good relations and peace between the English-speaking peoples of the world. (Applause.)

We have, in the course of the decade during which we have existed, welcomed representative men of both countries, both in the capital of Great Britain and in New York City; but there never has been so significant an occasion connected with the purpose of this Society as that which calls us together to-day. (Applause.)

We are here to welcome and to greet with all the honors representatives of Great Britain who have crossed the ocean on the glorious mission of preparing, with their brethren of Canada and the other English possessions round the world, with the people of the United States, appropriate ceremonies for the celebration next year of one hundred years of peace between the English-speaking nations. (Great applause.)

It is somewhat dramatic that we meet here at this particular time, when the world was never so near a great conflict, and when the world was never so armed and in preparation for it. While continental nations are burdening themselves beyond all precedent in order to be ready for war, which the Prime Minister of Great Britain stated the other day we had just escaped, and which the press says we are on the eve of now, we, representing Great Britain and the United States, meet in the midst of war alarms for peace and peace alone. (Hearty applause; cries of "Hear, hear!")

Now we have with us to-day also the representatives of the city in which this commission met. It is singular that the histories, whether they are written by English or American historians, give only a scant line to the meeting of these commissioners a century ago in the city of Ghent. When ages from now Macaulay's New Zealander, who was to stand on the broken arches of London Bridge and view the ruins of St. Paul, arrives home he will write a history of the world, and I venture to say that he will give more pages to the meeting of those Peace Commissioners at Ghent a century ago and its results than any other one in the million years which he discusses.

Why, my friends, that was a marvelous commission, and the names of two of those commissioners are still household words with us—John Quincy Adams, afterwards President of the United States, and Henry Clay, the most eloquent statesman and the most popular leader of his time. It is recorded in a few letters which are in existence that when they arrived in Ghent the Society of Arts and Sciences elected them members. Now, those statesmen knew mighty little about arts and sciences; old masters

were not in fashion then and you could not have sold one or given one away in the United States under any condition. (Laughter.) But having elected them as members of the Arts and Sciences, the Society immediately gave them a dinner; and the city of Ghent, untrue to that impartiality which should belong to a referee, offered, through its Burgomaster, as the toast, "Success to the Americans in this Negotiation." (Laughter.) After the ceremonies and the discussions were completed and the treaty fully agreed to and signed by all the commissioners, then the American commissioners gave a dinner to the British commission. Now, there was this fortunate thing for the statesmen of that period. The British statesmen could not have praised Americans and been elected to anything, and the American statesmen, in the tone of public sentiment at that time, could never have praised Great Britain, with any hope of the future. But there were no cables and no reporters (laughter), and the result is that this chronicler, only in a letter, says that never were such compliments paid by the British to America or by the Americans to the British. (Laughter.) John Quincy Adams broke loose from the icy surroundings of his New England culture and Puritan blood and grew warm on the subject, and Henry Clay was never so mellifluous, never so eloquent, never so grand in his eulogiums of the country from which we all sprang. But they were not reported.

There is a significance about that dinner; it was the first one which was ever held, in an international way, between Englishmen and Americans for the purpose of celebrating good will between the two peoples. Every dinner since then, and there has been a million of them, has been for that one pur-

pose, and every speech that has been made since has been an echo of those speeches which were made a hundred years ago. (Applause.)

According to our judgment, the present causes of threatened war, which is to join in its conflagration all Europe and, possibly, all Asia, seem to be mighty small to us Americans, and I have no doubt mighty small to Englishmen, if I may use an optical illusion, with eyes which go around the globe.

But, my friends, while we have been at peace for one hundred years, we have not always been on the most amicable, friendly and loving terms; and we would have been a mighty poor lot and unworthy of our ancestry if we had been. (Applause.) There must, among virile people, arise many questions of difference, and those questions will come to the breaking point. Now, we haven't fought, though we have had plenty of causes to fight about during those hundred years, not because either of us was afraid nor because either of us didn't sometimes long for a fight. We have both of us fought for a sentiment; we have both of us fought on the drop of the hat; we have both of us fought because one of our citizens was insulted somewhere; we have both of us fought where we had no earthly interest, except to protect or to save or to rescue a people who were unduly oppressed. (Great applause.) Now, we came near fighting over the Northeastern Boundary, but just as it came to the breaking point, the greatest intellect that we have ever had since Hamilton in American diplomacy or statesmanship, Webster, suggested the solution that Lord Ashburton approved. We came near fighting when both sides claimed the whole Pacific coast. The English suggested the 49th parallel, and the Americans said "No"; then the Americans suggested the 49th

parallel to the English, and the English said "No"; others suggested several other parallels, and both sides said "No." Then Polk was elected on "54-40 or fight." And after Polk was elected he studied geography a little, and then he said to the representatives of Great Britain: "I was elected on 54-40 or fight, but how does 49 appear to you?" "Well," said the English Prime Minister, "it never occurred to me before, but it is just the same." (Laughter.) Then in later times, when differences came to the breaking point, they were settled by the genius of John Hay and the brilliant diplomacy of Lord Pauncefote. (Applause.) In our own recent recollection every obstacle in the way has been removed by the diplomacy of our own Senator, Elihu Root, and Ambassador James Bryce. (Applause.)

I heard of a family which had two possessions it highly valued: one was a pet goat and the other a Persian rug a thousand years old, very fine and of brilliant color. The goat ate up the rug, and as a proper punishment was carried by the family down to the track and tied on his back to one of the rails. Then the executioners awaited his proper punishment, but as the express train rounded the curve, the goat took in the situation, coughed up the rug, flagged the train and saved his life and the family heirloom. (Laughter.) Now, it has so happened that in every crisis during these one hundred years there were statesmen on both sides who could get into an agreement and flag the train of war before the collision occurred.

Now, if I may make—and sometimes we can do it yet—just the slightest kind of a classical allusion, it is said in history the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed only four times in two thousand years, and then only for a few months at a time. Our

gates of the Temple of Janus, which holds the household gods of English-speaking peoples, have been closed over a century. The gates are rusted and the metal has fused. There never can be an open gate again through which the armies can march, or the machines of war can go to the ports for dreadnoughts of the navy. From now and forever more and especially when we have cemented peace by the celebration which is to come next year, peace will remain between the English-speaking peoples of the world, not only for their own advancement, but as an example for the civilization and humanity of the whole world. (Tremendous applause.)

## Address at the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Village of Ossining, State of New York, October 13, 1913.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

Twenty-seven years ago I was in Heidelberg. The five hundredth anniversary of the founding of its famous university had just been celebrated with impressive ceremonies. The Emperor, the Grand Duke, the high officials of the Empire and distinguished professors and men of letters graced the occasion. For the visitor all that was left were the decorations in canvas and tinsel where in the ruins of the old castle had been recreated Germany of five centuries before. It was mainly the pomp, display and majesty of war. It was knights in armor and feudal banners which had been carried victoriously on many a battlefield. The lesson of the hour, as conveyed by these remnants of the banquet, was not of peace or of learning, but of the might of embattled royalty and nobility maintaining with their retainers the prestige of their government, their class and their institutions.

The centenary which we celebrate today in this simple way has an entirely different and more significant meaning. The pomp and circumstance and glories of war, the pageantry of feudalism and its class distinctions have no place here. The century which closes tonight has no equal in recorded history of the benefits which it has bestowed upon humanity. Every class and condition in life have been equally the beneficiaries of its marvelous achieve-

ments. More has been accomplished in charity, bestowed without favor, in all-embracing philanthropy, in invention and discovery, in conquests of the forces of nature and disciplining them to the service of man, and, in orderly liberty, than in all the cycles which have preceded.

When the University of Heidelberg was founded, the learned and the unlearned still regarded with awe the seven wonders of the world, which were repeated everywhere in the following lines:

"The pyramids first, which in Egypt were laid;
Next Babylon's garden for Amytis made;
Then Mausolos's tomb of affection and guilt;
Fourth, the temple of Dian, in Ephesus built;
The colossus of Rhodes, cast in brass, to the sun;
Sixth, Jupiter's statue, by Phidias done;
The pharos of Egypt comes last, we are told,
Or the palace of Cyrus, cemented with gold."

But the wonders of this century are steam and its infinite application, unifying the world by railroads and steamships; electricity, belting the earth in instantaneous communication by the telegraph and cable and the wireless; the Suez Canal which united Western Europe with Asia, and the Panama Canal which will bind the North and South American Hemispheres in mutual interdependence and immensely productive, political and commercial relations and make the Pacific Ocean the highway of nations; the inventions and discoveries which have multiplied power so that production can take care of increasing populations better than ever before, and the advances in medicine and surgery which have found out the sources and removed the terrors of plagues, diseases and fractures which for ages have devastated and tortured mankind. Edu-

cation has been popularized and brought within reach of all at the expense of the State with increasing liberty and opportunity. But the greatest wonder of all is the United States of America which has passed its one hundred and twenty-fifth year unchanged in its Constitution and institutions, a light for the guidance of other peoples and a home for millions who have been absorbed in its citizenship and assimilated to its ideas of liberty and civilization.

The story of the organization of this municipal corporation would be incomplete without a picture of the background which educated and prepared the people of this town one hundred years ago for the formation of a representative government. The name of the town and of the village both came from Indian sources. While a large number of the municipalities of our State are named after the cities of Greece and Rome, or the gods of ancient mythology, this village and township happily preserved the musical and appropriate nomenclature of its first inhabitants. The Six Nations of aboriginal Indians whose capital was in the Mohawk Valley, had the genius to discover, without outside aid or knowledge, the power of federated government. These tribes extended their power and exacted tribute from the extreme north down to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arctic Circle. The most powerful among these six tribes were the Mohicans whose habitat was along the Hudson. One family of them lived upon this spot, with their larger settlement Ossining and their smaller one Sing Sing. From these hills they saw the *Half Moon* anchor in Tappan Zee in 1609, and undoubtedly examined this strange craft with their canoes. They little dreamed that it was the

forerunner of a stronger race which was to occupy their lands and before which they were to disappear.

Seventy-one years later Frederick Philipse, a successful New York merchant, was granted a patent by the British Crown permitting him to "freely buy" the district of country extending from Spuyten Duyvil Creek to the Croton River, where this great manor joined the manorial estate of the Van Cortlandts. When the Revolutionary War broke out the descendant of this Philipse cast his lot with the British while Van Cortlandt remained faithful to the patriot cause. At the close of the war the Philipse family fled to England. The estate was confiscated and purchased mainly by the tenants. Philipse purchased the property from the Indians for a miscellaneous and not very large collection of knives, guns, powder, lead, cloth, axes, wampum, and probably most attractive, two ankers of rum, an anker containing twelve gallons. The Indian had thus early acquired a taste for fire-water, which, more than the guns of the enemy, led to his extermination. And yet, at the sale of the confiscated estate in 1784, what now constitutes nearly the whole of northern Westchester, except the northern part of Cortlandt town, brought only forty-three thousand dollars.

This town was in the midst of what is famous in the story of the Revolutionary struggle as the neutral ground. The British Army was encamped in New York; the American Army at Peekskill and the hills north, and this intermediate territory was raided by the scouting and foraging parties of both armies, but, worst of all, was subject to plundering bands of banditti, known as cowboys or skinners who masqueraded, sometimes as loyalists and sometimes as revolutionists, but were always thieves.

Within a few miles of here André was captured by Paulding, Williams and Van Wart. Had he succeeded in reaching New York with the papers in his possession, West Point would have fallen, the country would have been divided by the Hudson River and independence postponed for an indefinite period.

A most interesting book could be written on the trifling incidents which have led to mighty results. Two farmers' boys, one a white man and the other a negro, Sherwood and Peterson, were making cider on the Frost Estate about four miles north from this spot. They saw a boat put off from the *Vulture* which had brought André up to the meeting with Arnold, and saying, "Let's go down and take a shot at the Britishers," they hid in the bushes and fired at the boat with their flintlock muskets. A sailor was wounded and the boat returned to the British sloop of war. The noise of the firing attracted the attention of Colonel Livingston who, with his command, was stationed at Verplanck's Point. He applied for a large gun which Arnold refused. Then he sent a four-pounder, which was his best artillery to Teller's Point, which encloses your harbor, and that little gun compelled the sloop of war to raise anchor and drop down the Hudson. The musket shots of the two farmer's boys and the four-pounder on Teller's Point forced the land journey of Major André in an effort to regain his own lines, and then followed his capture, the flight of Arnold, the exposure of the plot and the salvation of the country.

There is another lesson in the tragedy of André, and that is, a military officer should always obey orders, and all persons in times of peril should find out about others without revealing themselves. General Clinton's orders to André were, not to go

within the American Lines, not to conceal his uniform, not to carry any papers, but his adventurous spirit got the better of his written instructions and he was captured.

Paulding was a prisoner of war who had escaped to the home of a sympathizer near the prison. He purchased for him an old British uniform. When he was stopped, André saw the uniform, supposed it was one of his own people and betrayed his position as a British officer. Paulding said afterward that if André had said nothing except exhibit the pass which he had from General Arnold he would have let him go.

So little is known of the subsequent history of Benedict Arnold, except in a general way, that greater detail might appropriately be put on record on this occasion. The story is one of tragedy, of the loyal devotion of a devoted woman to a husband who was unworthy of her affection. He died without revealing whether she ever fully understood the infamy of his act. Arnold was an able, daring and tempestuous character without moral principle or self-control. Washington made him the military commander of Philadelphia because his wound, received at Saratoga, unfitted him for the field. His extravagances led to a court martial. The court martial condemned him. Washington could not do otherwise than approve the findings of the court martial, and for that Arnold flew into a rage and opened communications with the British Commander. He was a military genius. He saw that West Point was the key to the situation, that there he could inflict the most telling blow and earn his reward. He asked for this command which Washington, who had unimpaired confidence in him, readily granted.

The last act of the unfortunate Major André before the British Army evacuated Philadelphia was to organize a tournament in which each knight had his lady, and his was the beautiful Peggy Shippen. The first thing that happened to General Arnold after he assumed command of Philadelphia was to meet Peggy Shippen and fall madly in love with her. The first act of Arnold when he had safely reached the *Vulture* was to write to General Washington begging him to be merciful to his wife, this same Peggy Shippen.

The character of Washington comes into relief in two instances of this period. While he made every effort to capture Arnold and to exchange André for him, yet with a tender and fatherly care he shielded Mrs. Arnold, had her conveyed in safety to her father in Philadelphia, and subsequently permitted her to pass through the lines to join her husband in New York. The second was old General Putnam, who always self-reliant, egotistic and wrong-headed, had disobeyed an order. Washington's reprimand meant discipline and at the same time to save as far as possible the feelings of the old veteran, in writing a reproof he said: "My dear General, if anything goes wrong from my order, the blame is mine not yours."

Arnold, with his wife and two children at the close of the war went over on the same ship with Cornwallis. He and his wife were received with the greatest attention by the King and Queen, but society refused to recognize them. They were at every court function, and King George and Queen Charlotte put themselves out of the way to show them courtesy, but not one else went near them or received them. Life was a solitude in their home and no doors were opened to them. We have

all felt in watching the doings of what is called society everywhere, whether at the Capitol or in the village, that it is governed by singular impulses in its recognition or rejection of new-comers.

The Earl of Lauderdale made a speech in Parliament attacking the Duke of Richmond, in which he said that he did not know of any instance of political apostasy equal to the Duke of Richmond's except General Arnold's, and that as the intended encampment was designed to overawe the Kingdom and the metropolis in particular and prevent a reform in Parliament, the Duke of Richmond was the most popular commander to command it, General Arnold being struck off the list. Arnold immediately challenged the Earl. He selected Lord Hawke as his second, while the Earl of Lauderdale chose the famous statesman Charles James Fox. They were to fire simultaneously. Arnold missed. The Earl refused to fire on the ground that he had no complaint against the General. Arnold sent for Fox, and said: "Tell your principal that unless he fires I will so insult him that he cannot help it or be disgraced," whereupon Lauderdale said he would apologize. The apology was accepted and Lauderdale then called upon Mrs. Arnold and apologized to her. Instantly society changed towards the family. The street was filled with carriages, coats of arms emblazoned on their panels, cards showered in from the most eminent, and invitations were extended to functions in town and great houses in the country. The devoted wife wrote to her father as to her condition pending the duel: "What I suffered for near a week cannot be described. The suppression of my feelings lest I should unman the General almost proved too much for me, and for some hours my reason was despaired of."

Arnold who was anything but a good business man speedily lost the thirty thousand dollars he had received for his betrayal. Every venture and every speculation proved unfortunate. Queen Charlotte had settled on their arrival upon Peggy a pension of five hundred pounds a year and one hundred pounds for each child. This had to support them during the nearly twenty years before Arnold died. Peggy's letters to her father are most pathetic in describing, as the children came along, how increasingly difficult it was to "keep up appearances."

Arnold disappears from the historic stage with his famous meeting with Talleyrand at Falmouth on his last journey to the West Indies. Talleyrand was at the same inn. He had been expelled from France, England no longer wanted him and he was on his way to America. Learning that a distinguished American General was in the hotel, he introduced himself, asked many questions which Arnold curtly and evasively answered. Talleyrand, however, was too great a diplomatist to be put off by bad manners even from a man who seemed to be so unhappy as Arnold, so he asked for letters of introduction to people in the United States who might be useful to him. "No," said the stranger, "that I cannot do. I am perhaps the only American who cannot give you letters to his own country. The ties which bound me are broken. I can never go back. I am Benedict Arnold." With that Arnold, with bowed head, quitted the room.

One of the most pathetic illustrations and inheritance for vengeance for treason, and its unforgetfulness and reluctance to forgive, was illustrated in a letter written by Mr. Shippen, then Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, to his daughter, Mrs. Arnold, many years after she had settled in London. She

had asked him if after this long absence she might not visit her old home and put her sons at an American school. The Chief Justice answered, "You had better not come, because the boys at school will make your children very uncomfortable."

The shadow of the disgrace of their father followed the children. They were fine boys and a beautiful girl resembling her mother, and did their best. Of course, the British Government aided them to positions. The eldest went to India and became distinguished as a civilian. George and James entered the military service and were both killed in the Peninsular War. At the storming of Surinam a forlorn hope was to be led against the fort. James at once applied to the Colonel for permission to lead it because he said "he knew that his father was held a failure at his duty and he desired to do the best he could to redeem his name." His wish was granted, the fort was taken, but James was unharmed. Years later in the wars against Napoleon he died as he had wished, a soldier's death in Spain.

It is the foible of every generation to think their problems more serious than those which were presented to the people of any other period. We are entering upon an industrial experiment amid the jubilant shouts of the authors of the new tariff, and are facing a currency crisis under the equally jubilant prophesies of the victors. According to our standards, we are happy or unhappy, hopeful or hopeless. Our brilliant, most original and most distinguished citizen, Colonel Roosevelt sails away, firing a broadside which echoes over the land on behalf of what he calls reforms and those who disagree with him call revolution. But we are living in calm political and social conditions so great that

they cannot be compared with the troublous times which existed when this village was organized on October 13, 1813. The bitterness of the Revolutionary War was still acute. The memories of outrages committed in this neutral ground by neighbors upon neighbors were still fresh. Paulding, Williams and Van Wart, the captors of André, were alive. Paulding died five years later and was buried in the old Van Cortlandtville Cemetery at Peekskill. Isaac Van Wart died ten years later, and was buried in the old Greenburg Churchyard near Elmsford. Daniel Williams died in Schoharie County eighteen years later, and was buried in the old stone fort at Schoharie Court House.

The general upheaval in National politics in 1813 and 1814 made Henry Clay Speaker of the House of Representatives, and brought Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun into public life as Members of Congress. These three statesmen became the famed triumvirate who moulded and controlled the domestic and foreign policies of the United States for the next forty years.

An illustration of the survival of the bitterness of those times, even in another generation, is the advice given to me by my father when I commenced the practice of the law in this county in 1858. His father had been a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, and his grandfather had spent the family patrimony in raising a company for the same army. He named five families all well-known in Westchester, and said, "My son, never have any financial dealings with those people. Never accept one of them as a client. Never believe one of them as a witness. If they appear on a jury, challenge them peremptorily, for their fathers were Tories or Skinners in the Revolution."

But in 1813, Patriots, Tories and Skinners were among the population of Ossining. They all joined in the formation of this corporation. Beyond these borders the world was in agitation and trouble to an almost unparalleled degree. Napoleon's invasion of Russia had been a failure, and his army of a million of men annihilated. The allies were marching upon Paris and his abdication and retirement to Elba were imminent. War had been declared against Great Britain by Madison, and there were no obstructions in the way of forts or mines or modern appliances to prevent the British fleets coming up the Hudson, or going, as they did, up the Potomac. Political partisanship was never more intense. The leaders of the combatants were most picturesque figures in our State history. Daniel D. Tompkins, a native of Scarsdale, a few miles east of here, twice Governor of the State and Vice-President of the United States, leading the one side, and DeWitt Clinton the other. Tompkins raised forty thousand men for the defense of New York's frontier, and to secure the money for the purpose pledged his own property and indorsed the notes of the State. Clinton represented the anti-war party and most of the leading citizens of our County sympathized with him and joined in the great meeting in New York to protest. The bitterness against Great Britain growing out of the Revolutionary War was still intense, as was also the sympathy and friendship for France. Our people were almost unanimously with Napoleon in his tremendous conflict, though under his embargoes and orders twice as many ships were seized and destroyed, and twice as much property sold or burned as by the English, nevertheless we were hot-footed for war with England, while we forgave

Napoleon. Posterity, however, justifies that war. With our race no man can hope for popularity in public life who opposes a war after it has begun. The most eminent men in New England and the most eminent sons of Massachusetts and Connecticut were driven into obscurity because they were members of the Hartford Convention which was a protest against the continuance of the struggle and a demand for peace. Madison received, as against DeWitt Clinton, the votes of nearly two-thirds of the electoral college because he was pledged to declare war. Clinton resigned from the United States Senate to become Mayor of New York. At that time the Chief Magistracy of our metropolis was regarded as the higher honor. Times have changed. The Mayor of New York had almost unlimited powers. He was Chief Magistrate at the head of every department, and possessed judicial functions. He could hold any other office, for Clinton was at the same time Lieutenant Governor of the State.

It was about the time of the formation of this village corporation that DeWitt Clinton, having personally made the surveys, started the project of the Erie Canal. Tompkins arrayed himself on the other side, and the question became political. Clinton was driven from public life, but in 1817 returned as Governor of the State, and carried his great project into execution. He was driven again from public life, but the people called him once more to the Chief Magistracy, when he completed the work. He had the good fortune, which comes to few originators, of participating in the triumph of its completion. He carried the waters of Lake Erie through the canal to the Hudson, and down the Hudson until he had poured them into the Atlantic Ocean. He gave to his State the highway

to the West, which was the outlet for an interior empire that created States, cities, villages and industries, made the City of New York the metropolis of the Western Hemisphere, and his State the Empire State of the Union.

An echo of those distant times which shows how history often repeats itself were these lines of a song that was sung before Clinton was elected:

"Oh a ditch he would dig from the lakes to the sea,
The eighth of the world's matchless wonders to be.
Good land, how absurd! But why should you grin?
It will do to bury this mad author within."

After his election his friends sang this song:

"DeWitt Clinton is dead, St. Tammany said,
"And all the papooses with laughter were weeping.
But Clinton arose and confounded his foes,
The cunning old fox had only been sleeping."

It is the glory of Daniel D. Tompkins that in cooperation with that most distinguished citizen of our County of his time, Chief Justice John Jay, he passed the law under which, giving ten years to the owners to adjust themselves to the new conditions, slavery should be abolished in the State of New York.

According to some of our political philosophers, your fathers sadly misunderstood the true principles of democracy. They had been living and exercising here for a generation pure democracy of which we hear so much. They had that ideal of direct government, the town meeting, and yet by a unanimous vote they decided to establish representative government. Six years before Fulton's invention, the first steamboat, the Clermont, had carried passengers from New York to Albany and return, and

the success of the undertaking had revolutionized the transportation system upon the Hudson River. The farming country back to the Connecticut line was pouring in here with its products to be carried to New York, and the stores were securing from the city the supplies for this rural population. Docks and piers and wharves were required. Streets were to be laid out with some degree of uniformity. Public improvements were to be planned. An educational system was to be adopted. Mount Pleasant Academy, one of the first, and afterward one of the most famous in the State, was built the next year. From this beginning came other institutions of learning, until Ossining had a nation-wide reputation for the number and excellence of its schools. Those old-fashioned people decided that the preacher and the merchant, the lawyer and the farmer, the doctor and the mechanic, all intent upon earning a living and their energies absorbed in their own career, could not, by assembling in the public square and in open meeting, decide on the moment upon the harmonious creation and execution of all these enterprises. So they resolved to form the corporation of this village and delegate to their chosen representatives, the President, the Board of Trustees, the Highway Commissioner, the Police, the Justice of the Peace, the carrying out of their will. The prosperity of this town from that day to this, the fact that there has never been a single voice raised to return to the old town meeting system, is the emphatic verdict of one hundred years of experience for representative government.

Permit me to tell of two experiences of my own connected with your village. About fifty years ago I delivered an address before the Westchester County Bible Society. Among those in attendance

was the Reverend Doctor Phraner, for a half century pastor of one of your churches, and who passed away recently venerable and universally respected in his ninety-odd years of age. Some time after the meeting of the Bible Society he called upon me at my home in Peekskill and suggested that as a young lawyer I should move to Sing Sing and make it my home. The reason he gave was that the local lawyers were a bad lot. I knew those local lawyers, and several of them, especially the late Francis Larkin, were very able and very honorable members of the bar.

When I first ran for the Lower House of our New York Legislature fifty-two years ago, I was told that unless I secured the support of one of your most active citizens, an eccentric and successful man, I could not be elected. I addressed a meeting in the public square, and afterward this gentleman insisted upon adjourning to the American House for refreshments. At that time temperance was unknown. It was an insult to refuse a drink. Most of the public men whom I met in the Legislature died from alcoholism. I had very decided notions for my own future on this question, but at the same time I could not afford to offend this prominent politician. So I arranged with the bartender to give me mint juleps, innocent of anything but water and mint, while my host indulged in his favorite whiskey. At midnight I had defied microbes and germs by swallowing about a gallon of Sing Sing water, and he about the same quantity of Sing Sing whiskey. He stumped the district afterward for me both times I ran, declaring everywhere that I had a great future before me because I was a second Daniel Webster and had the strongest head in the State of New York.

The inspiration of the young people of Westchester in every generation has been the distinguished men who have honored its history. Of the Revolutionary period few in our country were as eminent as John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States, and the diplomat who negotiated our first treaty with Great Britain which secured to our country inestimable benefits, and the picturesque Gouverneur Morris, soldier, diplomat, man of letters and wit, and the friend of Washington. It was in his little cottage at Fordham that Edgar Allan Poe wrote "Annabel Lee" and "The Bells." Near him Rodman Drake sang of the flag and its significance, and Woodworth gave to the world that never-to-be-forgotten ballad "The Old Oaken Bucket." Fenimore Cooper, at his home in Mamaroneck, failed in his first essay in literature, but while visiting the venerable John Jay at his home in Bedford he heard the story of Enoch Crosby, the spy of the Revolution. No more resourceful, daring and courageous gatherer of secret information at daily peril of his life from the officers of both armies ever lived than Enoch Crosby. He had the entire confidence of General Washington, but necessarily could not have that of others, and was often in more danger that he would be caught with the loyalists whom he had betrayed from our own troops than from the enemy. He enlisted in the Continental Army about the time of the Battle of Lexington, and filed with Washington only one request when he undertook the dangerous task of a spy, that if caught and executed his name should be vindicated. His exploits were so remarkable, his escapes so marvelous, his accomplishments so miraculous that it only needed the touch of genius to picture the facts to make a story of absorbing

interest. James Fenimore Cooper's genius was equal to the task. The "Spy" made his reputation immediately, and he became one of the foremost of American authors. Cooper, you remember, calls Crosby in the novel Harvey Birch. Crosby resided in the village of Southeast, and his son lived and died at Mount Kisco.

Washington Irving lived for thirty years your neighbor at Sunnyside, and there wrote his immortal life of General Washington. The suggestion and the inspiration came because he had never forgotten that as a little boy Washington had placed his hand on his head with a cheerful salute, and that at Sunnyside and at Wolfert's Roost he was surrounded by the atmosphere of Washington's achievements.

Close by was White Plains, Washington's first great battle, and Dobb's Ferry, where Washington and Rochambeau met and organized the Yorktown campaign which ended the war, and where the army encamped at the close of the war prior to its triumphal entry into New York upon its evacuation by the British.

Above him was Verplanck's Point, where Washington and Rochambeau, after the declaration of peace, gave a final review of their two armies, and Rochambeau, noting the wonderful improvement of the American troops since he first saw them, said to Washington, "Your army looks like an army of Prussians," at that time the highest compliment a military man could convey, for it meant the veterans of Frederick the Great.

Irving had redeemed American literature from the reproach of the Edinburgh reviewer contained in the question, "Who reads an American book?" But he did more for our neighborhood in peopling

its shores by the legend of Sleepy Hollow, and the sleep of Rip Van Winkle, and the Voyages of the Dutch Navigators on the Hudson, so that while we have not the legends of the Rhine, we have beautiful tales of love, adventure, domestic felicity and infelicity, with some of the mysterious and the supernatural, to add to the incomparable physical beauties of our Hudson River.

Among the successful men of this town were Admiral Worden who, in command of the *Monitor* in the battle of Hampton Roads, ended the naval power of the Confederacy; Darius Ogden Mills, who became one of the founders of the State of California, and John T. Hoffman, Governor of our State.

An incident too trivial to find a place in the pages of the sober histories is nevertheless a tradition of sufficient local interest to be recorded. The Count de Rochambeau, when he received orders from home to take his army to Newport and embark for the West Indies, was encamped on the Crumpond Road, a few miles to the north. As he was mounted and about to march, surrounded by his brilliant staff, and followed by his army of six thousand veterans, a constable stepped up and said, "Sir, you are under arrest." "What for?" said the astonished hero of many battlefields in Europe and of glorious achievements in America. "Because," said the constable, "your soldiers have used an orchard for firewood, and the owner has sworn out a warrant against you as an absconding debtor." The monumental and colossal audacity of the situation touched the French humor of the Count and he inquired how great was the demand. The answer was "Three thousand dollars in gold," which was more than an entire farm was worth in that neighbor-

hood at that period, when it took one thousand dollars of Continental currency to buy a pair of boots. However, the Count left a thousand dollars, the issue to be decided by the court, and the damage was ultimately assessed by the man's neighbors at four hundred dollars.

When de Tocqueville who, next to James Bryce, is the only foreigner who ever understood and eloquently wrote about our institutions, visited America, he came here. Standing on the heights in the rear of the village, and gazing upon the Hudson, he said, "I must except the Bay of Naples because of the opinion of the civilized world, but with that exception the world has no such scenery."

It was a happy incident and a wonderful foresight which located your village on the site of this encampment of the Mohican Indians. We who were born along this river may travel all over the world, may admit the beauty or the grandeur of other spots famed for their picturesqueness and beauty, but we return to the Hudson convinced that it has no superior, and doubtful if it has any equal. The four-pounder which from Teller's Point was so instrumental in saving American independence has on every Fourth of July from the square in your village been an added inspiration to patriotism and good citizenship. It sent forth at the beginning of the Civil War as gallant a company as fought on either side during that memorable struggle. The year after the formation of the corporation of your village the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain was brought to a close by the Treaty of Ghent. Next year will be celebrated one hundred years of peace between the mother country and ours. In the meantime these two English-speaking peoples have

grown to a dominant influence in the affairs of the world and in the advancement of its civilization and liberties. This one hundred years of peace has been of benefits so incalculable that they can only be imagined, they cannot be adequately portrayed. You, in common with all the world in your century so coincident with this one hundred years of peace, have been conspicuously the participants of its blessings. I devoutly hope that continuing prosperity may mark each succeeding one hundredth birthday of your town, and that the five hundredth may have a civic celebration which will be of as great general interest to our country as the five hundredth of Heidelberg was to Germany.

## Speech at the Dinner given by the Lotos Club, October 25, 1913, to His Serene Highness, Prince Albert of Monaco.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

For about half a century this club has been entertaining men of eminence in every department of endeavor. It loves to decorate achievement. Those distinguished in literature, in journalism, in art upon the dramatic and the lyric stage, by invention or discovery, have received our welcome, and also the accidents of politics, like Presidents and Governors.

This is the first time that we have been honored by the presence of a reigning sovereign. It is not on account of his hereditary rank that we are glad to see him, but because he is much more than a reigning sovereign—a scientist of world-wide fame and an inventor and discoverer. The learned societies of many capitals have paid him high compliments, elected him to their memberships. As a yachtsman he appeals to our sporting sense. Our people gained a fondness for the sea when one hundred men, women and children braved its dangers and sought its safety on the *Mayflower* of seventy tons in 1620. True to their ideals, they have reached in less than three hundred years over ninety millions, the conquests of a continent and one of the world powers of the globe. This mastery of the sea was with John Paul Jones, the founder of our Navy, and subsequently with our clipper ships which were the despair of maritime nations. When unwise

partisan legislation took our mercantile marine off the ocean and banished our flag from the ports of the world, our sporting spirit kept alive the spirit of the seas through our yachts, bringing over in their first contest the International Cup and keeping it since against all competitors.

Still, it is not as a yachtsman that we welcome the Prince. It is because of the wonderful things he does with his yacht. Poets have sung through all the ages of the music of the spheres. It became a fixed tradition that the myriad stars in the Milky Way, and other myriad stars in other milky ways, again and again filling the immeasurable universe, were held in their places as suns, and revolving in their orbits, because of the music of the spheres.

But now the American admiral in midocean lifts his cap as there comes from the air the strain of "The Star Spangled Banner"; the English admiral bares his head as there comes to him the music of "God Save the King," while the German pays his tribute to "The Watch on the Rhine." There, in calm or in storm, these patriotic airs come to those naval officers' ears from an invisible choir. We cannot explore, we are unable to explain, the mastery of the music of the spheres, but these national anthems, flowing on the waves of the air, are sent forth by an invention of the Prince from the deck of his yacht through a wireless telephone. Statesmen of all countries, while preaching peace, are working with feverish haste to enlarge the size and increase the number of their dreadnoughts and to stimulate inventive genius to discover new elements of destruction. Perhaps there may be here a potent agency for universal peace. It may be that with these great fleets listening to the invisible choir, giving them interchangeably each other's in-

spiration of their national anthems, that the harmony which conquers wild beasts and leads them to follow the player, may first temper and then allay the passions for war.

The wireless machinery of the Prince's yacht is so powerful that it keeps him always in touch with one continent or the other. His own inventive mind has added many things to its usefulness. We live in an age of wonders. They are so common that they have ceased either to excite our admiration or stir our blood. It is a rare event that makes men or women now rise up and take notice, but the records of time may be searched and nowhere can be found any event which so touches the human heart and so stirs the imagination as the rescue of the passengers of the unfortunate *Volturno*. But for the wireless, it would have been another of those tragedies of the sea which are never accounted for and whose victims are never heard from. The hero of the hour is the wireless operator who, without exception, stands by his post until the last moment, and, with the captain, is the last to leave the ship. The cries of seven hundred human beings concentrated in these electric waves went north, south, east and west. They reached the Englishman, one hundred miles distant, and the German, one hundred and twenty-five, and the Frenchman, one hundred and fifty, and with doubled speed all altered their courses and flew to the rescue. The oil tank steamer, also illustrating modern invention, arrived to throw upon the mountain waves the calming influence of oil.

When future generations look back to this age, this instance will stand out conspicuously among its many marvels, and when the heroes of this age take their niches in the temple of fame, one of the

highest will be occupied by the statue of Marconi.

All the scientific talent of the Middle Ages was devoted to turning the baser metals into gold. Alchemy, with its one purpose to discover gold, was the pursuit and the bane of genius. This age has learned much easier methods of securing gold. It is not by finding it in the results of the retort and the laboratory, nor in the hazards and accidents of gold mining, but it is by possessing that talent for organization which controls the necessaries of life. The Trusts have done much to accumulate gold for a few, but there arises now and then a special master of men and of markets who, with no other advantages than are possessed by his neighbors, becomes supreme by the possession of the talent for acquisition of the precious metal. A conspicuous example came to our people and to the world by the death of the merchant Altman. With the same tools, under the same laws, and with equal opportunities of his neighbors and competitors during his life, he nevertheless leaves his vast business to those who have been his associates, and to the city in which he had his opportunity a priceless gift of unequaled and unsurpassed works of art for the education of succeeding generations until the end of time.

The scientific mind of our day, however, is devoted entirely to the benefit and uplifting of the human race. It abandons the fields for gain and enters the laboratories in the research work which is minimizing the dangers of disease and extirpating the perils of plagues. It is risking life in adventure to probe the secrets and reduce still further to the service of mankind the sea and the air. It is in this field that our guest has won his chief distinction. His yacht is his home, a pleasure boat

and a laboratory. He has found things about currents and tides which are of great value to the navigator. He has dropped his search line five miles into the ocean, and biologists in all countries have learned by his discoveries. He has found that there are living creatures in these vast depths which bear a pressure of the water above them beyond the weight of the Washington Monument or of Westminster Abbey. They relieve this easily borne pressure for new fields by rising gradually until a million tons becomes a thousand, and a thousand becomes a hundred, then there is no pressure at all on the surface. But the explorations from the yacht have demonstrated that when these living organisms are pulled suddenly to the surface they die from the want of pressure. That is a brand-new discovery. Our graveyards are filled with those who die from too much pressure. Pressure on the brain from overwork, pressure upon overloaded stomachs, pressure upon overcharged kidneys, pressure from worry and anxiety and from overstrained nerves keep the undertaker busy and furnish the grave digger with his living. So, it is a pleasure to learn that there are living things in this world who die for want of pressure. The example seems to enforce the old-fashioned lesson of moderation; not too much pressure to kill, not too little to take away ambition, but just enough pressure for success and longevity.

This lengthened line has contributed another blow to our most cherished beliefs. This line of the poet has always been a favorite: "Full many a gem of purest ray serene, the dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear." The Prince has fathomed those caves. There are no gems of purest ray there. This beautiful and hopeful creation of the imagination takes

its place under practical examination with the silver lining of the clouds. We all know the story of the two busted speculators who used their last money to buy a balloon, equipped it with the proper instruments and rose above the clouds to corner the silver.

The people are always interested in the sports of their rulers. They delight to know that the King, or the Prince, or the President plays. They are mighty curious to know how he does it. The race course is said to be the sport of kings, and so it is. Every crowned head in Europe goes with his family to the races, and if you are in Paris on a certain day in June, you will see the President of the Republic in his State coach, with outriders and an escort of cavalry, going on Sunday morning to the Grand Prix. The great race of England is the Derby. But our Presidents cannot indulge in this sport of kings as the French Presidents because the only official who is conspicuous upon our race course is the sheriff. King Edward won the Derby. King George is the best shot on the grouse moors in Great Britain. He escapes from appeals which may be made to him from David Lloyd George, John Redmond or Sir Edward Carson to use or not to use the veto power by rejoicing in his prowess in phenomenal bags of birds. The Czar and the Kaiser chase the deer through the forests, while the King of Italy, reviving as he is constantly doing with the applause of his people the prestige and power of ancient Rome, renews the life in his Virgil and Horace, by chasing the wild boar over the hills.

The only sport which seems to be reserved for our Presidents is golf. Having watched them at golf, I think I see the reason for it. When the President, after an hour of unsuccessful struggle

with the Senators and Members of Congress of his party to make them follow his lead, is stripped for the fray and has the weapon in his hand and sees the little ball on the ground, that ball grows to the size of a Senator. When he swats it, he takes a mental satisfaction in the discipline. When he puts it in the hole, he says, "Mr. Senator from New York, I reckon you will now support my currency suggestions."

Pessimists are always despairing of the Republic. There is, however, no reason for this. We have both patriots among our people who are generally right though sometimes mistaken and efficient public servants. An incident, which occurred to a friend of mine when he recently landed from Europe, proves this efficiency. He brought with him a large number of pheasants he had shot in England. As game birds, they are admissible under the law; as plumage, prohibited by the new tariff. The genius of the inspectors was equal to the occasion. They sat down on the dock, plucked the feathers, threw them into the harbor and then delivered the game.

The late Governor Woodruff was a member of this club. He was one of the most genial, most lovable and most capable men in either social or political life. Truly of him it may be said, "None knew him but to love him." He had a camp in the Adirondacks, called "Kill Kare." He loved to entertain statesmen there by the score. At the other end of the lake he had two bears chained to a rock. They were trained to entertain the statesmen. He knew that to kill a bear was a distinction highly prized by a Governor. These bears were trained so that, with their acute wild hearing and sight, the moment the gun flashed they dropped. I think

they survived several years, contributing to the hunting stories of the amateur sportsmen.

I reject with scorn the suggestion that Buffalo Bill had for his distinguished guest, the Prince, a trained grizzly bear. I am sure that the Prince was so fine a sportsman that his unerring aim brought down his grizzly.

Well, gentlemen, we hope that this sportsman, scientist, inventor, explorer, discoverer and true democrat, will continue his beneficent career and round out, as long as he wishes, life after his century has closed.

## Speech at the Dinner by the Lotos Club to Mr. Howard Elliott, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co., December 13, 1913.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

I have had a half century of opportunity for the intimate study of railway presidents. When I became attorney for the railway company forty-eight years ago, the three great presidents who filled the front page of the newspapers and occupied the attention of the country were William H. Vanderbilt, Col. Thomas Scott and John W. Garrett.

Commodore Vanderbilt began with the Harlem Railroad, one hundred and twenty-eight miles long; he and his son, William H., and his sons extended the system until it is now over twenty thousand miles. Col. Thomas Scott and his successors in the Pennsylvania, have done the same for that system, and John W. Garrett and his successors in the Baltimore & Ohio, a similar work in that system.

There is only half a century between that period and now, a mere tick in the watch in the progress of time, but in the evolution of our country a greater progress and development than ever known before among any people or any nation.

It is well known that every mile of railroad into new territory brings into existence the settlement and cultivation of several hundred farms. It is well known that without transportation facilities between farm and market, the richest agricultural

country in the world is a desert and industrial cities cannot either be created or exist.

The early part of this period was one of development of the country by the extension of railroads. The offices of the president of that period were filled with citizens begging for railroad extension; they had no money, they depended upon getting railroad facilities, and they wanted capital to invest for their benefit and take all the chances of the investment. It was an agricultural section that might be brought into settlement and development; it was a water power through which industries and a manufacturing town might be created; it was an ambitious city which with further facilities at the expense of the railroad could enlarge the area of its market.

Immediately following the citizens desiring these facilities came the promoters. This period furnished the greatest opportunities for this class of idealists. I came to have the largest admiration for the imagination and hopeful audacity of these rainbow chasers. They became so numerous that they were assigned to me and had to get through my office to see the president. We now have become accustomed to millions, multi-millions and billions, but I have seen visions of untold millions rise in airy clouds before my eyes while the eloquent promoter was expanding his scheme, to be dissipated by the cold breath of a hard fact, or the lack of hard cash.

Dickens had only a limited field when he drew the character of Micawber. If he had sat in my chair, Micawber would have been a pygmy of airy opportunity compared with my promoters. I remember one of most impressive personal appearance and apparent prosperity. He carried a large map in his hand and with extraordinary skill he

started it with a push and it rolled across the floor. With his cane he developed his plan. "There are the railroads under Vanderbilt control, there is the territory of the Pennsylvania, there that of the Baltimore & Ohio, there is what the aggressive systems west of Chicago are going to do in the East. When their plans are completed you will see that the territory of the Vanderbilt System will be bottled up and its revenues destroyed. I am here to save the situation. This red line marks my road. I have tentative options upon part of it. An initial advance of thirty millions of dollars is the premium upon the insurance policy which saves your system, otherwise sure death awaits it." I said, "My friend, do you remember what Bismarck remarked to the King of Prussia, afterwards the Kaiser of Germany, when at the commencement of the Franco-Prussian War the King was discussing the map of Europe? Bismarck remarked, 'Your Majesty, roll up the map of Europe.'" Said the promoter, "I know you are a joker, Mr. Depew, but this is no joking matter, it is the salvation of your clients and of the thousands of men in the employ of the railroad." I said, "It is because of the importance of the subject that I use so distinguished an illustration as Bismarck and Emperor William." He said, "If you must have your joke, I suppose it means that I am to roll up this map." I said, "Yes, Your Majesty." "And you will have nothing to do with my plans?" "No." "And you will not report it?" "No." "Well, will you give me a pass back home?"

Now the difference between the railroad president of that period and the railway president of today in authority and power is wonderful. Those railway presidents were popular, the railway presi-

dents of to-day are the most criticized officials in the country. There were no restrictions upon the earlier presidents either by the United States or the several States; they were not hampered to any considerable extent by labor unions; their authority was practically unlimited, and also their power for good or evil. The presidents were broad-minded and patriotic. Troubles came because the same arbitrary power naturally went to the heads of the freight department, the passenger department and the other departments of the company. These minor men became local tyrants and created abuses in discriminations which led to popular indignation and restrictive legislation. They were all generals—General Freight Agent and Assistant General Freight Agent, General Passenger Agent and Assistant General Passenger Agent, General Traffic Manager and Assistant General Traffic Manager, General Superintendent and Assistant General Superintendent, etc., until it was something like a Mexican Army.

I remember being at a dinner at the United States Hotel in Saratoga with Mr. Vanderbilt—he was a modest and retiring gentleman—when a loud voice at the table in the rear of us was arousing the attention of everybody. The voice said, "Send me the head waiter," and the head waiter came. "Are you the head waiter?" "Yes, sir," "I want you to understand there is nothing in this hotel that is too good for me. I am Assistant General Passenger Agent of the New York Central Railroad." That man and his like have disappeared from the railroad service.

Railway presidents of to-day have tremendous responsibilities and very little power. Their offices are crowded with the representatives of the various

unions on the line demanding increase in pay; with citizens complaining of rates; with reporters wanting to know what defense they have to offer for the accident which has happened; with process servers summoning them before some State or Interstate Commerce Commission or Grand Jury. In the Pirates of Penzance the policeman sings, "The policeman's lot is not a happy one."

The Government, National and State, have practically all power now over the roads; no expenditure can be made, no debt can be increased, no line can be extended, no rate can be fixed, no function whatever can be performed without consent of one, or all of these Commissions. It is power without responsibility as to results. On the other hand, the Labor Unions have grown into such strength that they absolutely control the wages, hours, discharge for any cause and conditions of service among all the employees of the railroads.

The president is expected to satisfy by his administration the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Commissions of the several States through which his line runs, the employees of the company, the public who travel and who send their products over his line, the cities which are eternally wanting greater terminal facilities and larger and more magnificent depots, and the stockholders who expect some return upon their investment. For every accident he is responsible and of every labor difficulty he is the cause.

The railroad president of to-day needs to be a statesman of broad knowledge and economic information, of large experience in public affairs as well as in the operation of his railroad, of that rarest tact which keeps harmony with employees and at the same time serves the public. He needs a knowl-

edge of the law which will enable him to guide his administration through the conflicting statutes of the various States. In the early days the president's closest association was with the Freight Department, from whence came the most of his money; the Passenger Department, from which came the most of his troubles, and the Operating Department, which was nearest the people. To-day he is closest to the Law Department. The General Counsel must be at his elbow, when what is lawful in one State is unlawful in another, and sometimes both unlawful under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, to keep the president out of jail.

It is said that an ambitious and talented young man asked the head of one of our great technical schools how long it would take him and how much it would cost to be an expert railway man and to become president of a system. The teacher replied: "If you want to master the most difficult problem of to-day, which is railroad transportation and the management and operating of railways, so as to become a president, it will take seven years in time, and, economically used, ten thousand dollars in money. If you want to become a Congressman or Legislator fully capacitated to solve these problems without effort, it will take three months of time and one hundred dollars."

The present situation demonstrates how absurd it is to restrict the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act or any other restrictive legislation. That Commission represents the people, and is alone competent to do the right thing and should have power commensurate with its responsibilities.

The parcel post, long demanded and a public necessity, invades the whole field of express service.

The express companies pay to the railroad one half of their receipts for the transportation and expedition of their matter. The Government has not as yet paid to the railroads one dollar for carrying the parcel post, but the Interstate Commerce Commission has demanded that the express companies reduce their rates twenty-five per cent.—a decision difficult to understand so long as the Government is doing the same business by the parcel post in competition with the express companies. If the Government is to be fair in this competition, it would be good business to let the express companies charge more than the Government, which would necessarily carry the business to the cheapest carrier, but to compel the express companies, in addition to this competition, to reduce their rates to a non-paying basis, looks to the lay mind like confiscation.

The railroads of the country are being starved. They have expended in improvements, extensions and betterments for the people within the last three years over six hundred millions of dollars. Their gross receipts have increased about two hundred millions, but, owing to the increase in wages in 1910 and 1913, amounting, I think, to over sixty millions, and increase in cost of materials, the net this year was sixteen millions of dollars less than it was three years ago. In other words, the railroads have not received a dollar of return on their investment of six hundred millions, paid wholly for the public convenience and benefit. The public is the beneficiary, receiving the improved service and the additional taxes, because when a railway company spends many millions for a depot made more artistic and extensive to satisfy local pride, the new station earns nothing on the investment, but the local

authorities add its cost to their assessment for taxes against the railroad.

Those who oppose the present application for a very slight increase in the railway rates cite one prosperous road, the Lackawanna, but they fail to note that others, like the New Haven, are being starved, not permitted to meet, in the only way a railroad company can meet increasing operating expenses, by increased rates for doing the business. I know of one railroad, not a very great, but still an important one, which by the first increase in wages was put out of dividend paying, and by the second increase will fail this year to meet fixed charges. To put that road in the hands of a receiver means poorer service to the territory through which it runs; it means depreciation instead of maintenance and stagnation instead of improvement, all of them injurious to the unfortunate producers in that territory, while an increase of rates sufficient to meet these obligations and keep up the line would be so small that neither the producer nor the consumer would feel it at all. It is estimated that the additional cost per household from the advanced charges resulting from the five per cent. increase in freight rates asked by the roads would average but thirty cents a year. This is all that the average family of the country would contribute towards the sixty millions of dollars' increase in wages which the railroads have given their employees in the past three years.

Mr. Prouty, the distinguished chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, says that the advance asked for by the railroads might be granted if the Commissioners knew what they would do with the money. The Commission practically controls that, and at this day of publicity, frequent

reports to Interstate and State Commissions, unlimited power to investigate and an enlightened conscience among railway executives—it is safe and wise to trust the companies. It is patriotic also, for the process of starvation cannot go much further without producing financial and industrial disaster involving the whole country.

The morning papers tell the glad news of the recovery of the stolen Mona Lisa, the masterpiece of Leonardo da Vinci. When the find was announced in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, these statesmen were in a wild scrimmage with fist and feet, but instantly the fight stopped and the Chamber resumed the dignity of the ancient Roman Senate.

The whole world rejoices in the saving of this incomparable portrait with her tantalizing smile and witching eyes. Let us hope that the news will open the orbs of the Interstate Commerce Commission and save the industrial situation of the country.

I was for twenty-five years a director of the New Haven Railroad Company prior to 1903 and am very familiar with conditions in New England, as to its industries, transportation necessities and the general distribution among the people of New Haven Railroad stock.

Mr. Elliott enters upon his work facing one of the most serious tragedies in railway history—the dividends of the stock of the New Haven Company have for forty years been the living, and in some cases the sole living, of thousands of families of limited means in the New England States. If Mr. Elliott can receive, as he ought, the help of the National and State Commissions, with their supreme power, he will reincarnate and rehabilitate the New Haven System.

The New England railroads have the task in the most productive territory of the country of keeping that territory productive and growing when at the sources of its raw material competition with its manufacturers grows more severe every year.

It is the man who ultimately counts in all railway operations. No matter how excellent or wonderful are safety appliances, the responsibility ultimately rests on the operator. In the largest degree in administration, the success or failure of a great and complicated system depends upon the executive. In the present crisis that man is Howard Elliott.

Five generals failed and lost their reputations, a hundred thousand men were needlessly sacrificed and a thousand millions of dollars lost with the Army of the Potomac before Grant took command, and Appomattox followed. I believe, and so do all of us, that the New Haven has found its Grant, and that under Elliott the system will resume its old place as one of the most productive and popular lines in the country.

## Speech at the Annual Dinner of the St. Nicholas Society of New York, at Delmonico's, December 6, 1913.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the St. Nicholas Society:*

It gives me great pleasure to be once more with my brethren of St. Nicholas. During the almost half century that I have been a member, I can recall very few occasions when there were so many acute questions agitating the public mind. As a rule neither politics nor religion are permitted on our festive occasions.

We meet to celebrate the virtues of our ancestors, to congratulate them upon what they did for humanity in imperishable principles which have survived all the ages, and upon their good judgment in selecting New York as the place to which they would carry their brains, their faith, their enterprise and their integrity. We congratulate ourselves that we had such intelligent, far-seeing and admirable forebears.

During the stress and anxieties of the Civil War we departed frequently from our custom to consider, because we could not help it, questions which so nearly affected our country, ourselves and our posterity. If serious topics are to be considered, there is among the descendants of the Dutch a broader-minded and more charitable platform than can be found anywhere else.

New York is famous for the societies organized by the different nationalities which constitute its

cosmopolitan population, and all of them have for their main purpose keeping alive the traditions of the Fatherland, but incidentally they are charitable organizations with large funds. Those funds are constantly called upon to meet the necessities of newly arrived or shipwrecked members of their race. It is a fine tribute to the strength of the old Holland stock that the thrift, which made them in the middle ages the merchants and bankers of the world, has descended so unimpaired to us that, while we also have a charitable fund, there are no applicants for its benefits and there are no beneficiaries charged upon it.

In the darkness of the middle ages Holland was the beacon light for civil and religious liberty. All around was intellectual darkness and religious bigotry and persecution, but the Protestant, the Catholic and the Jew, fleeing from persecution, found hospitality in Holland. There they could exercise their faith with independence and liberty so long as they did not interfere with the liberty of others. It was this asylum, protecting the bigoted and narrow-minded Puritans fleeing from England, that transformed them in little more than ten years into that broad-minded and liberty-loving little band of Pilgrims, which, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, formed the constitution upon which rests our institutions.

It is an interesting fact that after the people of Leyden were relieved from the siege, during which they had endured with wonderful courage untold privations and sufferings, when they were asked what reward they desired as a monument to their loyalty and patriotism, their answer was, "Give us a university." That university is still one of the best seats of learning there is in the world. The

results of this liberal-mindedness was that the Hollanders gave in that dark age to literature and law Erasmus, Grotius and others whose books are living lessons to-day, and to art Rubens, Rembrandt, Paul Potter and other immortals, whose works now command prices which in the aggregate would be almost equal to the assessed value of the entire property of Holland. I sometimes wonder what Rembrandt and Rubens in the other world must say to each other when they find the pictures which yielded them about one hundred dollars, or at the most four hundred dollars a piece, are bought by American collectors for five hundred thousand dollars, a sum so vast as compared with the money values in times in which they lived and the figures with which they were familiar that it is possible that even as spirits they are not able to grasp them.

I believe that it is impossible in any gathering now to avoid a word upon current conditions; they are too novel and have a future so full of hope or peril, that we cannot help expressing our thoughts. In my college days at Yale, New England clergymen were never permitted to mention politics in their sermons, but on Thanksgiving-Day the pent-up passions of the year were given free and unrestrained expression. One of the greatest preachers in New England of that period was the Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of the Center Church, New Haven. He was a great theologian, but nature had built him for a statesman. He was an intense abolitionist while his congregation was composed mostly of the rich merchants and manufacturers who were selling their goods to Southern slaveholders, so the iniquities of slavery were tabooed and their consciences were closed by the weight of their pocketbooks. On Thanksgiving Day Dr. Beacon had his opportunity;

he scarified these commercial Christians with words of living fire, he endeavored to reach their consciences, or, if they had none, to implant some in them; he drew pictures of the horrors of slavery which have never been equalled, he lashed the sinners in a vain effort to drive them to the performance of their Christian patriotic and civic duties. Such an effort on the part of Dr. Bacon on any other Sunday would have led to his immediate dismissal from the church, but in the freedom of Thanksgiving Day these sinners listened, went home, gorged themselves with the enormous amount of the good things which make a Thanksgiving dinner and then complacently patting their stomachs remarked to one another, "The Doctor was never so fine as to-day."

Suppose this is our Thanksgiving Day, though I am far from being Dr. Bacon. We have just had in our city the most remarkable election in recent times; it seems to indicate a revival of civic duty and interest in public affairs among all our citizens, which promises good government for all the future. The press and the people are predicting that this is the end of Tammany Hall, and there is an open revolt within the walls of that ancient organization which threatens its disruption. Much as we would like such an event to come about, I warn you, as the result of my long experience in politics, covering a period greater than most of you have lived, that this end of Tammany will not occur. An organization, which has lasted so long and is so deeply embedded in our civic life, cannot be put out of business in one election. Recently I had occasion, in preparing an historical address, to look into the conditions prevailing in our city a hundred years ago. I found that DeWitt Clinton was running for

Governor, and the issue was, should the Erie Canal be built or not? Clinton stood for the construction of the canal; that great waterway, opening as it did the Great Lakes to the ocean, was one of the main factors in settling the West and Northwest, in making New York the Empire State and our City the Metropolis of the continent.

Tammany of that day, a century ago, went to Clinton and wanted to know if he would give them the contracts for the construction of the canal. He positively refused and announced that they would be given impartially to the highest bidders and the construction supervised by State officials. Tammany thereupon decided against Clinton and especially against the extravagance of this project, shouting that it would bankrupt the State and be of no benefit. Clinton was triumphantly elected and the Erie Canal constructed. Everybody at that time joyously predicted the fall of Tammany Hall and its final disruption. A large number of its membership left and joined in the general condemnation. One hundred years have passed during which Tammany has had many crises, some defeats and many victories, but it is still in the ring. The reason is in our human nature. People love to fight in a compact and militant organization. There are still thousand upon thousands who would rather take their chances of sharing in "honest graft" than join in an effort to make it impossible.

There is a singular indifference to the manner in which public moneys are spent and that indifference enables the contractor to have his opportunity. So long as the contractor can control party leaders and the organization, and the party organization can control public officers who give the contracts and the inspectors who supervise their performance, so

long we will have the contractors generally successful, so long we will have the millions of dollars voted for good roads, which ought to be permanent and whose benefits are incalculable, squandered upon mud substitutes which disappear with the rains, the snows and the frosts.

We are again, for the few times fortunately in our history, having an acute crisis in our neighboring republic of Mexico. When there is danger of our country being involved in war, it is the duty of the good citizen to support the President. In the patriotism, good intentions and high intelligence of Mr. Wilson we all have confidence. His declaration, that so long as he can prevent it there will be no armed intervention and, therefore, no bloody war, is heartily approved, but his view of the duty of the United States in the Mexican crisis is certainly novel and questionable. It is that our Government will not recognize Huerta as President and that Huerta must not be a candidate for re-election, and that if he is re-elected, we will still refuse to recognize him as President of Mexico. This is a curious position and we wonder where the authority is for the President of one Republic to say to the President of another that he must get out and that he cannot be reinstated even by the people.

I have a friend, a very intelligent man, who has lived for twenty years in Mexico. He writes me, "All my interests, business and accumulations are in this country, my family is here, my children have grown up here, I have no place in the United States, and here I must remain. Under the provisions of the Mexican constitution, if the President and the Vice-President resign or die, the Mexican Congress elects a provisional President who holds office until the next election. The present Congress was elected

with Madero and is, therefore, legitimately in office; it has with unanimity elected Huerta provisional President; his title, therefore, is constitutional and legal. On this account every other nation in the world, except the United States, has recognized the President and his government. The failure of the United States to do so, and especially the declaration that he must resign or the government will never be recognized, has had most disastrous results. It has started up marauding bands of banditti all over the country, who say that under this attitude of the United States the Monroe Doctrine will protect them from foreign intervention and that the sympathies of the American Government will be with them rather than with the legitimate government of the country. This attitude of the United States has wrecked the credit of Mexico so that she cannot borrow money to meet her obligations or enforce the laws. If the United States had recognized Huerta, as all other governments did," this gentleman says, "that Huerta, who is a trained soldier and a strong man, would within three months have dispersed the bandits, restored peace, order and law and protection for lives and property throughout the Republic," but now, he thinks, the result will be chaos. The attitude of our President is called "watchful waiting"; it seems to be rather an adoption of Christian Science methods. I believe that the faith inculcated by Christian Science healers in many instances and upon many temperaments is eminently successful, but its efficacy on a nation of sixteen millions of people, only three millions of whom can read or write is at least an interesting experiment.

There has been much criticism of the diplomatic appointments of this administration. I have been

familiar with all of our Ministers and Ambassadors to Great Britain since the Civil War. They have been a very remarkable and distinguished selection of diplomats. I met our present Ambassador, Mr. Page, in London last summer, and I believe that he will line up to the full stature of what is expected of an American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. I was amused by the report in one of our papers of a banquet given to one of the departing diplomats by his fellow citizens in the West. In his speech he is reported to have said, "I was born in Europe; when I became of age I had two ambitions: the first to get rich—I have accomplished that by coming here and going into the brewery business; my second was to get into good society, and, therefore, I have sought and secured the appointment to the Balkan States." Let us hope that the society among these mountaineers will meet his highest expectations of what good society is.

We of the St. Nicholas are grateful to the President for the selection that he has made of our Minister to Holland. Never has there been a more ideal selection of Ministers to the Netherlands than Dr. Van Dyke. His name is Dutch, his ancestry Dutch; he represents the highest type of intellectual and patriotic Americans and will shed lustre upon the office, his country and his race, whose virtues we are celebrating here to-night. All hail to Minister Van Dyke!

We are next year to celebrate with imposing ceremonies on both sides of the Atlantic the completion of a hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain. It is a most inspiring event and the results of this century of peace upon the history of the world, the welfare of humanity, the advance of civilization and the enlargement of

liberty are simply incalculable. Already committees have been formed in this country and Great Britain, who are preparing a program of historical interest and importance. But another centennial has been lost sight of. It is of peculiar importance here to-night. This year is the hundredth anniversary of the liberty of Holland, which should be celebrated by every person who has Holland blood in his or her veins with gratitude and enthusiasm.

Napoleon had taken Holland under his authority by making the Dutch accept his brother Joseph as their King. Joseph, finding that he could not protect his people against the rapacity of his mighty brother, resigned his office. All the healthy young men of the country were drafted into the French Army; most of them had been lost in the disastrous Russian campaign; taxes had been imposed to an extent that was confiscatory, the decrees and embargoes of Napoleon had ruined the commerce upon which Holland depended for her living as well as her prosperity.

Patriotic citizens met, as they had done many times in preceding centuries in stress of national disaster, to consider the situation and the means necessary to rescue their country. They organized and drove out the French Army. They then appealed to the Prince of Orange, who was living in London, to come over and lead them. The Prince replied, "I will if you will establish a government where the ruler rules by the consent of the governed and with a constitution which creates a representative parliament." As the heads of the House of Orange had done for centuries, this Prince organized a Dutch Army and expelled the enemy beyond the frontier. At Waterloo he and his soldiers performed prodigies of valor and contributed materially

to the victory over Napoleon. When he was wounded, he tore from his uniform the decorations which he had won on many battlefields, and tossing them to his troops, said, "If I die they are yours, for you have assisted in winning them."

In the peace that followed, the independence of Holland was recognized and has been successfully maintained for a hundred years. During that period Holland has fully sustained her position among the nations of the world in the liberality of her institutions, in the hospitality of her people, in the enterprise of her merchants, and in the devotion of her citizens to their country and their God.

The cry with which they welcomed the Prince of Orange and which rang through every hamlet and every cottage in the land was "Oranje Boven." The motto of this society is "Oranje Boven"; let us here to-night rise and joyously celebrate this hundredth birthday of the renewed liberty and restoration of Holland by shouting with cheers and in unison, "Oranje Boven"!

## Address at the Dinner given to Mr. William C. Brown by his Official Associates at the University Club, New York City, December 29, 1913.

*My Friends:*

I have participated in celebrations, such as we are enjoying to-night, for nearly as many years as the age of our guest. I began way back in college days with dinners to retiring professors, and have continued since in appreciations for Presidents and ex-Presidents of the United States, Governors and ex-Governors of the State of New York, Mayors and ex-Mayors of the City of New York, and others who have attained distinction.

In nearly all festive gatherings like this, though in honor of an eminent gentleman, there is a flaw in the diamond—it is that a personal interest, suggesting gratitude for favors to come, attaches to the hospitality the hosts are giving—but to-night the diamond is absolutely pure and flawless. We are here to bid hail and farewell to our Chief upon the occasion of his retirement from his responsible position into private life, because of our admiration for him as an executive, because of the charming associations we have had with him as his colleagues, his cabinet and members of his staff, and because we love him.

There is a harmony among railway men which exists in no other profession. Rivalries among lawyers and doctors, and fierce competition between business men tend to the creation of personal animosities, but railroad officials are almost absolutely

free from envy, jealousy or malice. They rejoice at the promotion of a brother in the profession and are delighted at the honors which are merited and given to their associates.

Even in the old days when there was unlimited rate-cutting to the disaster of the corporations, and the public, and when the pressure from stockholders, directors and the press was brought to bear upon executives and traffic managers to break up the custom and make agreements for the maintenance of rates, and when, as was customary in those times, for all those who participated to endeavor before the signing and execution of the agreement, to make contracts for cut rates to the limit of its life, even then there were no animosities, only admiration for the officer who reached the telegraph office first.

Railway transportation, which has done everything for the development of the country, for its settlement, for the creation of its cities and industries, affords more opportunities for capable, resourceful and able men than there is a supply.

The difficulties, dangers and responsibilities of high executive positions in the railway, with the necessity of satisfying a Board of Directors, generally composed of the strongest men in the country, of stockholders who are anxious for a reasonable return upon their investment, and of the public, always alert and rarely satisfied, create a brotherhood among the members of our vocation. But there is quite another reason for our friendship and sympathetic unity; it is the efforts constantly made by politicians to bar from participation in the honors of public life the two million of honest, most intelligent and worthy citizens who are in the railway service.

Railways have been unpopular and will continue in a measure to be so, because the transportation of goods and persons is in the nature of a tax. We know that for the service rendered the public pay less to the railway companies for carrying their goods and their persons than they are compelled to pay for any other service they require. Nevertheless, there would not be any hostility to a railroad man serving the public in any capacity, local or general, if it was not fomented by politicians because they think it is popular.

At a dinner last week a distinguished officer of the Government was the guest of honor. This eminent official said in effect that "one of the reforms which has been brought about by the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution for the election of United States Senators by the people, was that no railroad officer or employee could hereafter occupy a seat in the United States Senate." This prohibition is not to apply to a manufacturer who is deeply interested in the tariff, nor to a newspaper publisher who is also interested, nor to a lawyer, nor to a doctor, nor to a minister, nor to an artisan, nor to a mechanic, nor to a professional politician who lives by his wits, nor to the gambler in food products or necessaries of life, but only to railroad men.

It is an assertion which has been disapproved every time a railroad man has been chosen for local or general office, that he, by reason of his association, will not give to the public unselfish and patriotic service. I believe that if a majority of Congress was composed of men in the railway service who had been trained in the school of dealing with the public, with an intimate knowledge of the needs of the village, the county, the State, and the gen-

eral government, which is necessary for a railroad man, there would be much better and much more useful legislation, and so far as laws can accomplish such results, increasing prosperity and opportunity for everybody.

Chief Arthur, for many years head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, was a man of commanding executive ability. He would have adorned the Governorship of the State of New York, or a seat in either the House of Representatives or the Senate of the United States. Politicians who thus misrepresent our profession think it is popular and safe, because railway men don't care, but some day the railway men of the country will get tired of this abuse. They possess the power through their perfect organization to retire permanently from public life all such enemies, because of the vocation they have selected for their life work.

I have known more or less intimately all of the Presidents of the United States, commencing with Abraham Lincoln, and all of the Presidents of the New York Central Railroad, commencing with Dean Richmond. Richmond was one of those original, masterful, forceful leaders of men who makes a mark upon his time. It was while I was a member of the Legislature, over fifty years ago, that I became acquainted with him. The union between the Central and the Hudson River roads had not then been made. Richmond was not only President of the New York Central, but he was the unquestioned leader of the Democratic Party in the State. His writing was the worst ever known, and could rarely be deciphered even by himself.

A story was abroad then that the Bishop of Western New York had written to him requesting

a pass; he answered briefly denying the request; the Bishop thought it was a permission to ride free, it was so accepted by the conductors, and his grace, the Bishop, had transportation over the New York Central Lines for a year with the compliments of the President.

Commodore Vanderbilt, under whose administration I first came into the service, was one of those original geniuses with rare constructive talent who arise only once in a century. As an illustration of the difference between his time and now —though he was the richest man in the United States, though he controlled more lines of railway than any other man—he was popular with the public. It was because at that time the public wanted men like him to extend the railways for which all communities were crying, and to enlarge the facilities of existing lines. If he was alive now how different would be his position!

William H. Vanderbilt was an exceedingly able and capable executive; for his time he was better fitted for his great task than would have been his father. He suffered under that handicap which so often comes to the sons of very great men; the overshadowing genius of the father does not give to the son a due appreciation of his abilities, even if they are as great as those of his parent.

The New York Central has had several Presidents since Mr. William H. Vanderbilt. I held the office for thirteen years. Also in the list were Mr. Rutter and Mr. Callaway. Mr. Newman, whom we are all glad to greet here this evening, is one of the broadest-minded, ablest and wisest of the railway presidents of my time. When he had reached the zenith of his fame, power and usefulness, when the directors were begging him to remain, and stock-

holders were unanimous in wishing him to continue, and the whole employment of the service were happy and satisfied, he showed his wise, level-headedness by an act of renunciation which I have rarely witnessed. For him to stay was to hasten, by responsibilities increasing with the advancing years of his life, his entrance through the pearly gates into the other world. He knew what this world is, what a good world it is for those who treat it right, how full it is of good people whom you can enjoy and who can enjoy you, and he made up his mind to stay here and enjoy Heaven on earth just as long as he could; certainly for the five years that he has been trying this experiment he has been most successful in health, happiness and evidences of longevity, and radiating happiness and good-will all about him.

Mr. Brown came into the New York Central service when it needed his great talent, his executive ability and his creation and control of efficiency. The system has wonderfully prospered under his management. The most beautiful station in the world has been constructed under the most exacting conditions and greatest difficulties in the maintenance of the train service. It has been the wonder of the engineers who have visited us from other countries, that with tracks shifted every hour and blasting all about and excavating everywhere and structures going up, that the train service, so vast, so complicated, of the three lines terminating here, should have been uninterrupted. This beautiful station suggests one accomplishment of our President.

He, however, I think will be longest remembered for what he has done in bringing about harmonious and cordial relations between farmers and the rail-

road. The experimental farms which he has had the railroad company establish along its lines have been schools of instruction which ultimately must be efficient instructors in carrying people back to the farm, in adding to attractiveness and in reducing the cost of living.

It is a saying almost as old as the ages that "The man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before is a benefactor of his race." Grass, however, feeds the cattle on a thousand hills, but Mr. Brown has succeeded in making three ears of corn grow where only one grew before, and that feeds the multitude.

We hear much in our country of "self-made men"; many of them are not admirable types, on the contrary quite the reverse. Few of them, as they assert loudly, stridently and aggressively, that they are self-made, are ever popular or pleasing. I remember when a baldheaded man was boasting that he had made himself, William R. Travers said to him: "Why the devil, when you were doing it, didn't you put some hair on your head?" The railway furnishes an opportunity for the growth of self-made men whose existence is a valuable asset to the whole country, both in what they do and in the example which they set. Every man about this table is, in a way, a self-made man, but among the most conspicuous is our ex-President, Mr. William H. Newman, our President, Mr. Brown, who is about to leave us, and our incoming President, Mr. Smith.

When Mr. Brown was a boy upon the farm he dropped the plow, climbed the fence and enlisted in the railway service in the humble but useful capacity of feeding wood (which was then used instead of coal), to the tender of the locomotive. That

excited the attention of a section foreman who wanted him to take the spade. He soon knew more than the section foreman, and then the head of the telegraph service required him; the train dispatcher saw his talent and made him an assistant; the superintendent needed him and then the General Manager made him Superintendent; he was so good a Superintendent that the Vice-President made him General Manager, and so good a General Manager that the President made him Vice-President, and so strong a Vice-President that the Board of Directors made him Senior Vice-President, and he displayed such rare executive talent that he was elected President.

The hard labors of an executive of a great railway very speedily use him up unless he finds recreation somewhere. Happily Mr. Brown possesses, in a large degree, the qualities which make a successful politician and public man. He knows the people and he likes to mingle with them and they like him. He has been a favored orator and an instructive one at various farmers' gatherings and meetings of Chambers of Commerce. He is destined to a career in public life. When he enters upon his activities as a farmer with all the other things which will come to him and which he will do, I am sure the people of his State will elect him Governor, and I believe that he will reach and adorn the United States Senate.

As a farmer he is already the owner of the prize stallion of the United States, and when devoting his whole attention to agriculture, he will be an efficient aid in answering the cry for better horses. His enthusiasm cannot be restrained and he will have better cows, better pigs, better sheep, better poultry; his land will produce by the acre so much

more than that of his neighbor, that the Brown Farm will become an Agricultural University.

Mr. Brown, we who love you, in seeking some permanent memorial of our affection which should be always with you and in your house, have selected this loving cup. On festive occasions its contents will be enjoyed by yourself, your family and your friends, and in the intervals your wife will fill it with flowers. Its mission is to keep in remembrance those who have been so long associated with you and whose admiration and affection have increased with the years.

## An Appreciation of the Late Judge Henry E. Howland, Contributed to *Bench and Bar,* December, 1913.

Henry E. Howland was at Yale with me. He was in the class of 1854 and I in the class of 1856. He was a junior when I was a freshman and a senior when I was a sophomore, and, while there was very little acquaintance at that time between under and upper classmen, Howland was so universally popular among the students that we became quite intimate. He was interested then, as always afterward, in everything that concerned the welfare of the College. Athletics were in their infancy, but he was active in promoting them in the different classes and in the University at large, and used to address the classes below him to arouse their interest, having already developed the faculty of humor and story telling for which he was afterwards distinguished.

He was a studious and hard working lawyer all his life, but found time for excursions in many other fields of work and pleasure. He was an exception in this respect to most of his contemporaries. He was deeply interested in politics and became associated intimately with the remarkable body of young men whom Chester A. Arthur, for a long time the Republican leader and afterwards President of the United States, gathered about him, and all these young men reached positions of distinction.

While New York was most of the time under the control of Tammany, as it has been ever since, yet

these young college men rescued the city several times in notable campaigns. In this way Howland became successively a Judge of the Marine Court and candidate for the Court of Common Pleas and Justice of the Supreme Court. He was fond of taking desperate chances where he believed that the people could be served by personal sacrifice on his part, and that led him to run for Alderman. During his two terms he was the life of the Board, and could unearth a job, expose a graft and bring even adversaries to the adoption of measures of relief, both by the intimate knowledge which he displayed of the situation and of the underhand dealings of those men who preyed upon municipalities and his unfailing humor and good nature. Judge Howland could arouse the people to an interest disastrous to the schemes by a good story, when a denunciation would have fallen on closed ears and received little notice in the press.

The passion of his life was Yale, and he joined with me in organizing the Yale Alumni Association of New York, of which I was president for the first ten years and he of the succeeding ten, until it was merged into the Yale Club. The Association was most helpful in keeping up the Yale spirit, bringing together the recent graduates and giving them acquaintance with the older and successful men and also helping the University.

I was twelve years his colleague in the Yale Corporation. He never missed a meeting and was fertile in suggestions upon the many and sometimes difficult questions which are always present with the governing board of our universities.

His attendance upon the practice games of the baseball and football teams, and the training of the crews, gave to the boys the encouragement of feel-

ing that the governing board of the University had a deep interest in the establishment of an athletic reputation for Yale, and sustaining it upon every field.

On the social side Judge Howland was one of the most delightful among the charming men of this metropolitan city. As an after-dinner speaker he had a fund of original anecdotes quite equal to those of the best story teller we ever had in New York, the late Judge John R. Brady. Few men knew so well what story fitted the case and how to tell it so that the snapper cracked and merged into the uproarious laughter of the crowd. He never attacked his adversaries directly, but had something of the Lincoln method of ridiculing them by an apt anecdote.

Those who were intimate with him wondered at the easy way in which he met and performed his many obligations. He possessed that rarest faculty for health and longevity, the ability to go from one department of work to another, carrying into the new field none of the limitations of previous activity which so often is fatal among men who have made successes in any one line, and are incapable of effort in any other. They become narrow through the brain pressure on the same cells, while the other cells become atrophied and the result is that outside of their offices they are uninteresting companions and of little benefit to their communities. Howland, however, had discovered early in life the rest and recuperation that there are in change of occupation; he had found that from these excursions he returned to his main work renewed and refreshed.

As a lawyer he always satisfied his clients, and they knew by results that they were well served.

On the legal side his judgment was excellent, but on all sides, in the troubles that come to a lawyer of general practice, he had rare wisdom and common sense.

Among other activities, he belonged to two dining clubs which met once a month. The members of these clubs were few and their meetings were both intimate and confidential. He was a valuable addition to these little gatherings of tired and busy men. He was fresher than any and brought to the table experiences from his busy life and wide contact with men of affairs—by way of incident and anecdote—those refreshing things which make an evening to be remembered.

During his long and most active career as a judge, a lawyer, a politician, a club member and club president, an educator and public speaker, he gained friends and never lost one. He filled a large place for a long time in the life of this great city.

## Speech at the Presentation of the Tragedy "Andromaque" by Racine at the Harris Theatre, New York City, by the French Dramatic Society, February 4, 1914.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

I feel embarrassed in appearing before you this afternoon for two reasons—one, it is always dangerous for a speaker to interrupt or postpone an anticipated pleasure, and the other, you are here for the purpose of listening to one of the immortal tragedies of Racine.

We have the highest authority for the statement that it is impossible to paint the lily, it is equally impossible to add to the fame of Racine, but when Mr. Bonheur, the President of the French Dramatic Society, came to me with the request that I should say a few words of appreciation of the efforts of that organization in the work they began and which we hope may successfully continue, I could not resist.

Certainly the Society is performing a service which is both patriotic and educational. Nothing could be of happier moment than to bring to the attention of the American people the results of French genius in literature and the drama.

The friendly relations between France and the United States began one hundred and thirty-seven years ago. It was a time when wars were universal, when nations were most hostile and were divided on race and religious grounds, when the ambition of dynasties and the hunger for territory were never so great. The American people were in revolution for independence and for founding a government

upon Republican principles. The friendship of monarchical France and the assistance rendered us by France at that time are preëminently the romance of history.

The Marquis de Lafayette, heir to one of the best names in the French nobility, came here as a volunteer and gave to Washington the service of his sword and his fortune. In the darkest hour of our struggle, Lafayette returned to France and came back with a French army under Rochambeau and a French navy under de Grasse, which rehabilitated the Continental Army and the finances of our Revolution. To that assistance, as we look back upon it to-day, our ancestors owed their freedom. In all the revolutions in France during succeeding years, this friendship of one hundred and thirty-seven years has continued unimpaired; it has been strained at times, but never broken, and to-day it is more cordial than ever. The French, after passing through seven revolutions with different governernments, forty years ago established the present republic modeled on the lines of the Constitution of the United States. Never in modern times have the French people been so loyal to their institutions, so patriotic in their determination to serve and protect them as now. Never before have French industry, literature and art been more progressive and prosperous.

Nothing is more interesting than the heredity of fundamental principles. The Pilgrim Fathers in the cabin of the *Mayflower* first enunciated in their charter the doctrine of the equality of all men before the law and the foundation of a government upon just and equal laws. One hundred years afterwards a French philosopher, Rousseau, startled France by advocating the same principles. There

is no probability that he had ever heard of the Pilgrim Fathers, of the *Mayflower* or of the charter which was prepared in its cabin. The principle had worked its way out in his own mind. It became at once a toy and plaything among the dandies and beauties of the French Court. It became a political creed in France in 1783, the year the French Army, after the organization of American Independence, returned to France. The French soldiers brought back with them the practical and successful application of these principles in the formation of the American government and the happy liberties of the American people. The teachings of Rousseau instantly assumed practical form. The French Revolution followed and the flower and the fruit of it all is the French Republic of to-day.

The division of people into parties is a state of mind; why a man is a Republican, a Democrat, a Socialist, a Prohibitionist or a Suffragette is a state of mind, so also the relations between nationalities is a state of mind. Nothing promotes unity of minds in different nations like intelligent intercommunication and exchange of thought. I remember in my youth when the works of Lamartine were the rage of the day, and then followed Guizot; they, with the great novelists, Balzac, Dumas, Victor Hugo, drew closer and closer to France the youth of the United States.

I have been a student and admirer of the American stage for over half a century. Its indebtedness to French dramatists and to the production of French art on the stage cannot be estimated. Taking the last fifty years as a whole, the majority of the plays which have appeared upon our stage have come from the French; they were borrowed and then adapted. Language is often used to so soften a

theft that it conceals a crime. The French play is stolen bodily, then it is adapted, and in the adaptation the name of the original genius disappears and in his place the adapter becomes a dramatic author. This has all been an invaluable education; it has produced American dramatists and enriched the stage with American actors of high merit. There is now, and has been for the past few years, a body of American dramatists who are producing original and excellent plays that present properly the aspirations and ideas of American society. Now that we are no longer dependent upon the adaptation to our life of foreign ideas and social conditions, but have a standard of our own, we can draw closer to and recognize more thoroughly and justly the French originals.

It was a happy thought which brought about the exchange of professors between France and the United States. The most brilliant men of the French Academy have come to our universities and colleges, and in the exchange American professors have delighted audiences at the Sorbonne and in the historic university at Montpelier. These exchanges have led to an acquaintance followed by study of French literature here and American literature over there. The fruit and flower of this international exchange is the production upon the American stage of the classics of French drama acted by a company of French actors. It is a wonderful advance in international cordiality that we can have the French stage acclimated in our City of New York.

We have still much to learn, and this French Dramatic Association has a virgin field for its educational operations. On my way here this afternoon, a successful man of affairs stopped me and

said, "Where are you hurrying?" I said, "To the Harris Theatre to speak on Racine." "Oh, yes," he answered. "I know the place. A lively town up in Wisconsin, but I did not know they were selling lots in New York."

I congratulate the students of the colleges and the schools that have this opportunity, which was not enjoyed by preceding generations. The French of the colleges and the schools, without the opportunity for practical use, frequently strands the student when he or she arrives in Paris. It is good in its way, but the French do not understand it. But when it is spoken, as it will be in these dramatic presentations, it becomes both a delight and an instruction.

Racine, whose masterpiece you hear this afternoon, did more than any other to elevate the French stage and by his genius to add to the beauty of the French language and enrich its literature. If, in the other world, the spirits of the departed are permitted to know what is transpiring here, we can picture the emotions of the spirit of Racine when it views with pride three hundred years after his death his great tragedy enacted in a country which he never heard of and among a people who, at that time, had no existence, but who in numbers and in power are greater than was the whole of the world with which he was familiar.

In congratulating the Society upon the happy inauguration of its work, I am sure you will all join me in wishing for it permanent success and a growth which will lead to the formation of other similar societies in every great city in the United States.

## Speech at the Luncheon of the Pilgrims' Society of the United States to the Right Honorable, the Earl of Kintore, at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York, February 9, 1914.

*Gentlemen:*

This room has been dedicated to international good will between the United States and Great Britain. Ten years ago this month the Pilgrims' Society had here its first meeting. During the decade its history has been rich in functions for the promotion of international good will among all English-speaking peoples, and in results which have been eminently satisfactory. We, the Pilgrims, enter upon our second decade satisfied with our past, and hopeful for the future. A year ago at this same hour we welcomed the first delegation under the Earl of Weardale, which came over from England in the interest of our hundred years of peace. It is our privilege and our pleasure to-day to welcome another English Ambassador, a Statesman who has performed eminent services for his country in almost every department of English public life. He has brought to his mission his great ability, his ripe experience and a large talent for tact and diplomacy. The cause has been benefited beyond words by the presence in our country of this accomplished representative of its purposes and its ideals. This gentleman is our guest to-day, the Right Honorable, the Earl of Kintore.

We have been so busy with adapting ourselves to our New Freedom that we have not given this sub-

ject the attention which it has received on the other side of the Atlantic; however, it is our habit as a people to wake up late to any duty and then perform it with a speed and efficiency which makes up for lost time. The celebration of the completion of the hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain has an incalculable international value.

When the representatives of United States and Great Britain met at Ghent to arrange the terms of peace one hundred years ago next December, all Europe was at war. Great Britain and every nation on the continent had combined together for a supreme effort to destroy Napoleon. One hundred years have passed during which there have been innumerable wars in which every country in the world has been repeatedly engaged. We have had several of our own, but there has been no hostile shot fired between the United States and Great Britain. We have been frequently on the verge of hostilities but they have been avoided by diplomacy. The one supreme and glorious fruit of liberties under the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Great Britain is the growth of public opinion. We have had difficulties over boundary lines involving large areas of territory which have always been settled only by war; difficulties over rights on the sea, which are fruitful subjects for war; difficulties at the time of our Civil strife, which were full of reasons for war, and difficulties arising out of our stepping in between two foreign countries and demanding arbitration, which with any other people and in any other age would have been resented by war. These causes for arbitration by the sword were more acute than the causes which led to the war between Prussia and Austria that gave

Prussia the dominance in Germany; between France and Germany which lost the former two of her richest provinces and a legacy of generations of hate; of the contests between France and Austria, which eventuated in Italian unity, and the war between Greece and the Balkan states and Turkey which afterwards became a contest over the spoils between the allies and closed with the opera bouffe of war, the peaceful recapture of Adrianople which had been the object of the strife with the Turks.

There is peace to-day in Europe, but it is peace so brittle that Germany has taken out of the principal, not the income, of her people two hundred and fifty millions of dollars for her army. France is doing the same for her army, and Germany and England are feverishly building dreadnoughts. We of the United States are so at peace with all the world that we refuse to add to our little army and fight over one more dreadnought for our navy. We have an irritation upon our Mexican border, but we are not, if possible, going to permit it to involve us in war. Our government's attitude toward the parties to that conflict is illustrated by the old story of the wife who, seeing a life and death struggle between her husband and a bear, said, "Let the best one win, though my sympathies are with the bear."

This celebration is both an event and a sentiment. If duty was a sentiment which had to be aroused by canvassers and appeals, it would have little permanent value, but a sentiment which under every stress and strain has kept the peace for one hundred years is not an accident, it is a monument. There was a slight scratch upon the amber, not at all serious, yet deplorable, happening last year in the exception of our coastwise shipping from tolls on the Panama Canal. It has always

been a wonder how, under the circumstances, the privilege was so easily granted and it is especially difficult when we consider that coastwise shipping is the only unrestricted monopoly created by the tariff, and the policy of this Government is to destroy tariff monopoly.

President Wilson within the last few days has happily removed this difficulty, he has relieved his party from this inconsistent position of being the agents of tariff monopoly and at the same time has won the applause of the American people and of the world by the assertion that when there is some doubt on a question of national honor, all doubts must be in favor of honor and faith. There is no place in the world more subject to brain storms than capitals, and none more so than Washington. This privilege to the coastwise shipping was passed with a rush and a hurrah under a brain storm by which voters in the Senate and House believed they were giving Home Rule to Ireland.

We are welcoming to our shores peoples of all countries, races and nationalities, save yellow ones, but our relations with the English-speaking peoples of the world, including with Great Britain her self-governing colonies, Canada, Australia and South Africa, can be differentiated in the remark of an old-time Southern Colonel who was discussing with a friend the never settled dispute about the status of different religious sects. "Yes, suh," said the Colonel, "a Catholic can get to Heaven, so can a Presbyterian, a Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist, Unitarian, or Universalist, but if you wish to go to Heaven as a gentleman with gentlemen, you must be an Episcopalian."

There is confusion in the public mind that this sentiment expressed in the celebration next year in-

cludes only the British Isles, but there is equal enthusiasm in the self-governing colonies of Australia, of South Africa and especially of our neighbor, Canada.

It was a happy thought on the part of our friends on the other side to purchase Sulgrave Manor, the home of the ancestors of Washington. The pilgrimage of each succeeding generation of Americans to Mount Vernon is a baptism of patriotism; the pilgrimage of succeeding peoples from all around the world who speak the English language to Sulgrave Manor will be a baptism of international and perpetual peace. The example of what has resulted from the absence of war between the United States and Great Britain during these hundred years is the greatest argument for world peace. Higher than monuments or memorials of any international value, or in any permanent form, is the living fruit of these amicable relations, the self-governing colony of Canada. If there had been war, Canada would have been the battle ground and subject to all the devastations of the conflict, but upon a boundary line of three thousand miles between Canada and the United States, there is not a sentry or a gun, or on a thousand miles of contiguous inland seas a battleship. Canada has in her institutions her liberties, her laws, her continental and transcontinental railroads, and in opening her vast territories for agriculture, advanced more rapidly in these one hundred years than any nation except the United States. As Canada grows in population, power, liberty and beneficence to the world's welfare, each succeeding generation will hail her as a resplendent monument to our century of peace.

## Speech at the Luncheon given to General Thomas L. James on His Eighty-third Birthday, Union League Club, New York City, March 29, 1914.

*My Friends:*

It is a privilege to be here to-day to join in this greeting to our friend, General Thomas L. James. We all have birthdays; mighty few have eighty-three. I can speak unselfishly of people who have reached eighty and passed beyond, because it will be four weeks before I arrive at that age. To have lived so long, retaining the confidence, respect and love of one's associates is a distinction; it indicates rare qualities of mind, of heart, rare wisdom, consideration and charity for others.

I trust we all went to church this morning. I did and heard a most instructive and inspiring sermon from my Rector. The preacher always illustrates the truth he is enforcing by a human example. Of course, it is always the Redeemer, but in addition it is an Apostle or a Saint or some eminent citizen.

We celebrate the birthdays of Washington and Lincoln because of the examples which they set and the guide that their lives are for posterity.

I know of no better sermon in this work-a-day world, and among those who know him and those who will know him when they come to read his story, than our friend and guest whose long life has been an illustration of the fact that a man can be true to his principles, his party, his church and his friends and still be more entrenched in the respect of his fellow citizens.

General James was one of the active young men in the Republican Party with whom I came in contact when I stumped the country for Fremont in 1856, fifty-eight years ago, and he was then giving promise of the distinction which he afterwards attained. He was a country editor working through the editorial columns with rare wisdom and efficiency for the principles which he believed, but he also understood his neighborhood. He was the inventor of the social column in the village newspaper and every young man and woman who became engaged could be sure of a complimentary notice, the bride and bridesmaids at the marriage, of a description of their dresses, all made at home; when they took their honeymoon, which in those days was never more than a week to some place within twenty-five or thirty miles, it received as much picturesque description as the honeymoon does now which charters a yacht and goes around the world. It was in this field that Mr. James discovered the faculty of imagination, without which he never could have made his success.

When he became Postmaster of New York there was no civil service; the doctrine, "To the victor belong the spoils," was universally accepted; the result was that the General was expected to turn everybody out and to appoint in their places the friends of the people who had secured him his position. This gave him enormous patronage. It was with the pressure then put upon him that he demonstrated his strength of character, and with the opportunities which obliging eminent men gave him, his ability to resist temptation. I think he was the first of the office holders of the country who installed a system of civil service. Of course, it was inadequate and primitive, for he had no sup-

port from his superiors or from the people, but it was the beginning of a great reform in the public service of our Government.

During all my activities in politics, running through these fifty-eight years, I have been a persistent seeker for other people to secure them offices. I have placed in the city, State and Government employment many thousands of men and some women. My intimacy with General James was well known and, therefore, I was overrun with people who wanted me to ask him to place them in the post office. I selected a very worthy man and, knowing how unreliable are letters, I went down with the applicant. The General received me with his accustomed cordiality and expressed his pleasure in having an opportunity to do me a favor. He said, "I will not put your friend on the general list because it may be a long time before he would be reached, but, turning to his private secretary, he directed, "Jones, put Mr. Depew's man on my private list." The applicant and I went away joyous and I undertook the support of himself and his family, we both thinking it was only for a few days. After a month of waiting, weary on the part of the office seeker and expensive to me, we went down again. The General called his secretary and said to him, "On what list did you put Mr. Depew's man?" He said "On your private list." The General was indignant, but his secretary winked at me, which made me think he was accustomed to that kind of abuse, and the General said to the secretary, "You ought to know better; the list I wanted him put on, and I regret if I made a mistake, was not my private list, but my special list." "Now," he said, rising, which indicated the interview was over, "your man is safe." At the end of another

month the weary office seeker and I called again. The General said, "Well, you see my private list got so crowded and my special list so full, that I had to make another list for intimate friends like you and call it my private-special list, consolidating the two names; now you are safe with your friend on the private-special."

A few nights afterwards, at a great public banquet at Delmonico's, the General had a seat of honor on the dais and I was a speaker. I made up my mind I could add to the gaiety of nations by a full and picturesque account of the General's lists, special and private and private-special. I had not got far when he came over to me and said, "Chauncey, for Heaven's sake, stop this racket; you will give me away and my scheme will be ruined for getting rid of office seekers. If you will stop I will appoint your man to-morrow morning." I turned my description of the lists into a glowing eulogium on the Postmaster of New York, his efficiency and how he was adding to the comfort of his fellow citizens and their business facilities, and the next morning my office seeker received his appointment and is still in the post office.

There is another incident which is of historical importance. A few of us active workers in the Republican Party in New York State were responsible for the nomination of General Garfield for President of the United States. Senator Conkling was at that time the dictator of the party in New York and the sole dispenser of public patronage. This patronage was so large that it made him absolute in his authority. He was bitterly displeased by the nomination of Garfield and refused to support him for a long time. His strength was so great that unless he did support him, it was feared New

York State would be lost. General Grant, who was the defeated candidate, with great magnanimity came out and traveled the country for Garfield and succeeded in making Senator Conkling accompany him. Garfield was elected. Senator Conkling demanded of the President the continuance of his control over the patronage, which meant the punishment of the men who made Garfield President. His method was to fight the confirmation by the Senate of anybody from New York in the Garfield Cabinet, unless selected by himself; then he would have in the Cabinet of the President a personal and devoted follower who would look after and protect this source of the Senator's power.

The late Whitelaw Reid and myself were in Washington to secure, as far as possible, a Cabinet which would be loyal to General Garfield and nobody else. After Senator Conkling had rejected several names suggested by the President, it suddenly occurred to me that there was one man whom Senator Conkling could not afford to, and would not fight, and that was the Postmaster of New York, General Thomas L. James. James was a citizen of Utica, Mr. Conkling's own city. He had been a devoted friend of Mr. Conkling during the whole of Conkling's career and a most efficient one, but I knew that if Mr. James entered the Cabinet of the President, it would be as a friend as well as an adviser of General Garfield, and that he could not by any old association be seduced from that allegiance. That was his character, but I took into account also his blood. He is a Welshman, and the peculiarity of a Welshman in a crisis is that he has the courage, patience and persistence of General Grant and the obstinacy of an army mule.

General James was appointed, and while Senator

Conkling did not approve, he found it impossible to fight his confirmation and believed that soon he could command his loyalty against the President. He was mistaken. No member of Garfield's Cabinet was truer to him or of greater value to him than his Postmaster-General. This appointment was the beginning of the fight upon Garfield's Administration, which led to Senator Conkling's resignation from the Senate and retirement from public life, and in the bitter partisanship of the time caused a lunatic to assassinate the President. Thus was the history of the United States changed.

The value of any human being is dependent upon the atmosphere in which he or she moves and in which they have their being. This is not the air common to us all, but it is the atmosphere which we all create ourselves. It may be so repellent that none can breathe it comfortably; it may be so cold that all are chilled who come within it, but there are many right-minded, right-hearted people whose sensibilities are not narrowed by the accidents of life, nor their charity dissipated by enmities or betrayals, but who, by their words and actions, spread good will and good fellowship all around them. The atmosphere of such people communicates to other atmospheres, so that whole communities share in the blessings which flow from such characters. During his long, fruitful and eminently useful life an innumerable host have enjoyed and been benefited by the atmosphere created by General Thomas L. James.

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